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THE NEW ZEALANDERS.

Chapter I.

INTRODUCTION.

When we attempt to look into our own minds, with the desire to trace the progress of our individual knowledge, we are naturally enough surprised to find in how few cases the origin of our intellectual acquisitions can be referred to particular times or distinct circumstances. We may indeed assign a date to our first study of a language or a science; and sometimes, by the aid of powerful associations, we may recollect our first impressions of some great truth which has had a permanent influence upon the conduct of our understanding. But still we feel that the bulk of our perceptions must have taken root in the mind, before we were sufficiently aware of their importance to record and classify them;—and we confess that a large portion of the materials of our knowledge was collected at a period of our lives when we were unconscious of the process by which we acquired knowledge at all, or were acquiring it in a manner that now appears to us but the mere sport of a happy childhood.

It is the same with the education of a people. At the highest point of civilization we can trace back through a few centuries the influence of particular discoveries upon the intellectual condition of society.

Thus, we can now have no difficulty in perceiving that the invention of the Steam-engine has let loose a vast quantity of human labour which was formerly employed as the moving power in manufactures—that the art of Printing has opened to *all* those means for the cultivation of their minds, which were originally the exclusive possession of a *few*—that the Mariner's Compass has brought the remotest ends of the earth together, and, in thus giving to civilized man the possession of all that is valuable in distant climes, has ensured to every barbarous people the power of losing their barbarism, sooner or later, by contact with the all-pervading progress of civilization. But, to say nothing of the institutions and forms of society, which, like the winds that come we know not whence, must necessarily be derived from an obscure and distant origin, it is exceedingly difficult, even with regard to those common arts of life that mainly distinguish the civilized from the uncivilized state, to point out at what period in the education of the human race they have been introduced. For example, in the parts of Europe which have been the longest civilized, we have little beyond those traditions that belong more to poetry than history, to tell us of a state when the working of metals was unknown—when agriculture was unpractised among settled nations, or the keeping of flocks by wandering tribes—when the manufacture of clothing, however rude, was wholly neglected—when some mode of recording events, whether by written characters or hieroglyphical representations, was altogether uncultivated. In short, the first rays of knowledge that illuminate the infancy of the species are as difficult to be traced and recorded as those which dawn on the infancy of the individual.

To understand how that accumulative mass of information comes into the mind, to which, in our indi-

vidual cases, we cannot assign a distinct origin, we should watch a child from the time when it first opens its eyes upon the light. Its education begins the instant it is born; and all that it ever knows is acquired from that instant by observation and experiment. A naturalist, having broken the egg of a fowl from which the young one was just ready to emerge, observed that at the moment when the chicken escaped from the shell it caught a spider that was passing on the ground. This was instinct. But the human creature has all to learn from its experience, nor can it provide its own food for years, till it has been taught by the example of others. An indefatigable and patient observer, therefore, of the actions of a child up to the period when its education, in the usual sense of the term, begins, will learn how the commonest notions, which when they are established stand to us in the place of instinct, are gradually fixed in the understanding; and he will thus lay a foundation for those valuable observations upon human character in general, which constitute the science of Moral Philosophy.

What the Child is to us for the study of man as an individual, the Savage is also for the broader but not less difficult study of man as a species. The peculiarities of each are to be examined with a like degree of patience and candour. The customs of barbarous tribes are not to be explored in the spirit of fruitless curiosity. We are not to open the relations of voyages into savage regions merely to feed our wonder with stories

> "—— of the Cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders."

We are to look upon the manners of barbarians—their limited knowledge, their rude contrivances, their degrading superstitions—as exhibiting in many in-

stances a picture of what we were ourselves in the infancy of our social state; and we are to regard their fierce passions, whether of love or hatred, as the materials with which the structure of the more equable affections and more systematic virtues of civilized life has been reared.

The intercourse of refined with barbarous nations has seldom been conducted under circumstances which allowed a right estimate to be formed of the peculiarities of savage life. In ancient times, when a few powerful governments more exclusively than even now held dominion of the earth, the conqueror bound his barbarous captives to the car of triumph, and his fellow-citizens gazed upon his slaves as upon the quadrupeds which also graced his procession. But conquerors and their followers rarely attempted to discriminate between one degree of barbarism and another. The individuals who then sought for a personal acquaintance with distant regions were few; and they were not generally very accurate observers. If we may credit Diodorus Siculus, who was a traveller as well as an historian, there were nations which had not the use of speech, and which lived promiscuously with other animals. Some, according to the same author, subsisted entirely in trees; not occasionally, like a tribe of South America, in order to escape the periodical inundations of the Orinoco—but habitually, like monkies. Herodotus tells us of Troglodytes, inhabitants of Africa, who, instead of speaking, made a noise like a bat, and were hunted as beasts by the neighbouring nations. It is probable that these, and similar descriptions, which are all wanting in the minuteness that characterises historical truth, may be classed with the exaggerations of later travellers, who have suffered themselves to be imposed upon by the ignorant or the designing. Even the acute Sir Walter Raleigh, in his History of Guiana, alludes to men

" whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders;"—in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, published in 1598, we find a nation " reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts;"—and as late as the time of Linnæus, a well-compacted story of men with tails found a place in that naturalist's highly valuable work, the " Amœnitates Academicæ." Such relations doubtless belong to a state of infrequent and imperfect intercourse with distant countries; just in the same way that the belief that the elephant had no joints in its legs, and the hyæna no vertebræ in its neck, could only be received before Natural History was established as a science.

The pictures which the Roman writers, particularly Cæsar and Tacitus, have left us of those neighbouring inhabitants of Europe, which the mistress of the world endeavoured to subjugate, are in many particulars not unfaithful representations of the barbarous condition which has most usually come under the observation of the moderns. A precarious supply of food, the natural result of an ignorance of the arts of agriculture and pasturage, gives birth to a life of adventure, in which many of the physical powers of the human animal are highly developed. Mutual wants producing mutual friendships, and knowledge being altogether oral and traditionary, tribes are formed, under the guidance either of hereditary chiefs, or of him who is most skilful and experienced. Then come wars, having as much reason in them as those of the most civilized nations, for the possession of a river or a mountain; and in these contests all the energies of the savage state are still further displayed. What the Germans, the Gauls, and the Britons were to the Romans, the North American and many similar tribes are to us. The influence of climate, the prevailing form of superstition, the total disregard or the

imperfect recognition of the rights of individual property, the degree of respect in which females are held, and the amount of intercourse with civilized nations —are all circumstances producing great varieties in the condition of savage life. Then, again, as we shall have occasion to notice more fully, some barbarous tribes seem to retain obvious traces of their descent from nations that have been more civilized. Others, such as the natives of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, possess a different but very inferior sort of interest, from exhibiting human nature in its extreme state of debasement, in which not even the least appearance of civilization is discernible. Such also, in all probability, were the Troglodytes of Herodotus. But, looking at the aggregate of savage life, as we may trace its general features in the infinitely varied accounts of modern observers, we shall, perhaps, doubt if any portion of the world is in that condition of brutality which some ancient writers describe as having existed in their times, and which the poets and philosophers of antiquity generally point to as the original condition of the human race. Whether such descriptions were always exaggerations or mistakes, or whether the whole world has gone on improving, are questions to which no satisfactory answer can be given.

The splendid maritime expeditions of the moderns, to which the Portuguese led the way in the fifteenth century, and of which the greatest triumph was the discovery of America by the Spaniards, laid open to view a vast extent of savage and half-civilized life. The discoverers of South America and the West Indies first wondered at the native tribes, then admired, then persecuted, and lastly vilified them. Columbus, when he first encountered the South Americans, was in raptures with them. "So loving, so tractable, so peaceable, are these people," says the

great discoverer in his journal, "that I swear to your majesties, there is not in the world a better nation nor a better land." And yet he sent these very people in chains to his native country, to be received as slaves. A quarter of a century after, when the conquerors had almost exterminated this unhappy race—and most unhappy because their gentleness rendered them little capable of resistance to oppression—they were denounced to the Spaniards as "barbarians, destitute of all morality, and almost without intelligence."* It was then convenient to degrade them, as some excuse for the barbarities to which they had been subjected. All European colonists have more or less been guilty of the same misrepresentations, in the same endeavour to mitigate the infamy of the oppression by which they have driven the native tribes from their own land, exterminated them like beasts of prey, or doomed them to slavery. Such are a few of the delusions which civilized men have wilfully kept up, as to the real condition and capabilities of their less fortunate fellow-creatures. They prevail for a time, are then doubted, next partially opposed, and at last swept away by the torrent of public indignation, which, however protracted, is sure eventually to lay prostrate every monstrous and crying injustice, with all the devices by which it has been supported.

A different spirit has sprung up in the civilized world, in judging of the characters of savage nations. We are now somewhat inclined to exaggerate their virtues, their skill, and their capacity for improvement. We are not, indeed, prepared to see in a savage, as Rousseau and other enthusiasts saw, a being with all his faculties perfect from the hand of heaven,—with all his moral and physical powers

* See a curious relation of the argument of Sepulveda against Las Casas, in the works of that great philanthropist, collected by Llorente.

developed as by enchantment—robust, muscular, defying the seasons, having no wants but those which he can easily satisfy, and possessed of a judgment and intelligence which leads him instinctively to despise the prejudices and artificial habits of the social state. These representations we believe to be agreeable fictions. Nor are we disposed to make the man in a state of nature reason like a French academician, as Buffon has done. Still many of us have a lingering notion that the perfection of bodily strength is to be found in the savage state;—that tribes without clothing are invariably models of the human form;—that if barbarians are revengeful, they are always open and confiding;—and that if they are ignorant of letters, they possess a natural eloquence which a cultivated talent can scarcely surpass. These are all mistakes. Europeans, as experiment has proved, are upon the average stronger than barbarians*;—Humboldt has indeed observed, that amongst the natives of South America instances of deformity are most remarkably uncommon, but the absence of deformity and the perfection of form are essentially different; and though exposure to light, and the absence of constraint, doubtless contribute to symmetry, many of the lowest race of savages are small and disproportioned;—cunning is a peculiar characteristic of all barbarians;—and the eloquence of the Indians of North America, which has been so vaunted, displays anything but intellectual power when translated into the language of common sense. The more we examine the various shades of barbarous life, the more shall we be satisfied that men are more virtuous, and skilful, and happy, exactly in proportion as they are advanced beyond the savage state:—and that those tribes are the most interesting who have the remains of an imperfect civilization in their manners and tra-

* Piron, Voyages et Découvertes aux Terres Australes.

ditions; or who, having come in contact with civilized nations, are learning to imitate their arts and their modes of life.

Many of the savage tribes which are now found in different parts of the earth appear, as has been remarked, to be the descendants of nations which had previously attained a certain degree of civilization. The semi-barbarous subjects of Algiers and Morocco are the same race that preserved the learning of the West when it was forgotten amongst the nations with whom it originated, that invented some of the most useful arts that the moderns have carried to perfection, and that reigned for several centuries the undisputed masters of one of the most beautiful countries of Europe. Much of the old learning of the East is lost;—and even the Turks, who have considerable intercourse with European nations, are less civilized now than they were three or four centuries ago. These are instances of the tendency of mankind to fall back, as well as to advance, both in knowledge and in social institutions, the perfection of which is the result of knowledge. When, therefore, we observe amongst a barbarous people any customs or traditions which assimilate with those of nations that have possessed a literature, and have made any progress in sciences and arts, we are not to be startled at the immense distance of the degrees of cultivation between the one and the other, any more than we should decide that the poor and ignorant Moor is not of kin to the splendid and intellectual race that exercised dominion in the palaces of Cordova and Grenada. Amongst the savages of North America and the South Seas, it is a prevailing tradition that their ancestors came from another country, from which they brought many wonderful arts that have since been lost. In many cases they deem these progenitors to have been so much their superiors in knowledge and wisdom, that

they worship them as gods. The tradition itself is perhaps the best single proof that they are really descended from a more cultivated race. But the diligent observer of their customs will generally find many collateral evidences, whether of religion, or language, or arts which have been partially lost even among civilized nations, to shew some remote connexion, independent of time and geographical limit, between the men of whom we read as the former lords of the ancient world, and those whom voyagers describe as the thinly-scattered population of islands the very existence of which was almost unknown to Europeans half a century ago.

The descent of a race from civilization to barbarism may have been occasioned in a variety of ways. It is difficult to conceive such an event to be within the limits of possibility, since the establishment of the art of printing, and the consequent diffusion of knowledge amongst the mass of the community. But in ancient times, the possessors of any learning were the exceptions to the body of the people. The tendency to general barbarism, under such a state of things, was sufficiently strong to render it very properly the business of legislation to prevent it, in the absence of the only sure remedy, that of enlightening the great mass of the community. Many of the laws and customs of the earliest nations have evidently been established with the design of preventing the general population from sinking into savages. When the institutions, under the shelter of which a people had existed for ages, and grown to greatness, were suddenly swept away, as, for example, by foreign conquest, the civilization, which had thus lost its cover and defence, was exposed to the same danger of perishing as is a beleaguered garrison when its protecting bulwarks have been thrown down. Babylon, Egypt, Rome, Greece itself, are memorable

instances of how rapidly the noblest fabrics of national refinement crumbled to pieces, when thus stripped of their encompassing supports. The civilization which they possessed in so high a degree ceased to exist when it came in contact with the strength of barbarism, because it was a partial civilization. It was a Corinthian capital without a base.

But the circumstances under which men have most frequently degenerated into savages appear to be those of early emigration and distant settlement. The independent, and, in some cases, probably compulsory transferences of such migratory hordes from their native land, were entirely of a different nature from the regular colonizations of the Greeks and Phenicians. They would in general carry away with them nothing more than a very imperfect image of their original institutions, which would frequently be still more defaced and mutilated during their rovings through successive deserts before they found another home; so that, when they did at last fix themselves in their new country, they must in most cases have lost everything except a vague and corrupted recollection of a few of the more remarkable peculiarities of their ancestral polity. The nature of their adopted abode, too, in respect of climate and other physical circumstances, would generally oppose almost as insuperable obstacles to the complete re-establishment of their old usages as would even their own moral condition. In this way, the Oriental tribes by which Europe was peopled had all degenerated into barbarism before they reached the countries in which they eventually settled; and they had all, many ages after, to be re-civilized, in the only way in which we have any example, in the history of the world, of the first rudiments of civilization being acquired,—namely, by being brought into communication with other nations already civilized.

But even where the emigrants cannot be supposed to have been barbarized by being obliged to lead for a long time a wandering life, before reaching their new country, it is easy to conceive how the same result would be produced in many cases, merely by the circumstances in which they would find themselves after their settlement. A numerous body of persons setting out under the conduct of their natural captains, and, after a voyage of a few weeks or months, meeting with a country favourably situated for colonization, might perhaps easily preserve such civilization as they brought with them, and succeed in forming themselves into a regular community. In this manner, in all likelihood, were founded the two great half-civilized American monarchies which the Spaniards found seated, in the sixteenth century, in the fertile vallies of Peru, and on the elevated table-land of Mexico. But suppose the case to be that of a few individuals, driven out to sea in one or more fishing-boats, and at last falling in with an uninhabited land, perhaps greatly too extensive for them fully to occupy, and at the same time offering facilities and temptations rather to the dispersion than the concentration of their numbers; it is easy to perceive that, under such circumstances, the authority and wisest regulations, even of a very able leader, should they chance to possess such, would certainly be insufficient to preserve them long from degenerating into barbarism. Destitute of all the accommodations, as well as emancipated from all the restraints, to which they had been accustomed, they would have neither inducement nor means to attempt the re-establishment, in their new home, of the institutions and arts they had left behind them; and, in little more than the lapse of a generation, almost their very memory would perish. And thus the night of barbarism would be begun,—more or less

deep according to circumstances,—but certain to be perpetuated, till intercourse with the people of some more fortunate country should again introduce the extinguished light.

This is, in all probability, the history of the first occupation of the South Sea Islands, and the commencement of that savage life which, in one shade or another, is found to prevail among the inhabitants of all those that have been yet visited. Among one class of these tribes, the limited boundaries within which they have been confined have retained them under some show of national connexion and government; while the influences of a genial climate have, to a certain degree, softened the ferocity and rudeness natural to uncultivated minds. In another, a wider extent of territory has broken them down, as their numbers increased, into separate settlements, not only independent of each other, but in general mutually envenomed by a thousand jealousies and animosities, which array each chief and his dependants against their neighbours in almost unceasing hostility, and make war the great business of every man's existence.

The intercourse of European nations with the islands of the South Sea has afforded peculiar opportunities of contemplating the manners of savage nations in their more interesting gradations of character,—more complete, perhaps, than the relations of voyagers exhibit in any other part of the world. With the natives of Otaheite, of the Sandwich Islands, and of New Zealand, we were first rendered familiar by the narratives of our illustrious navigator, Captain Cook; and the interest which we felt in them was enhanced by their apparent possession of qualities which indicated that they were not in the lowest stages of savage life. The natives of New Holland, and of Van Diemen's Land, with whom we are more closely

in contact, have, on the contrary, few attractions for our curiosity, for they are low beyond comparison, both in morals and intellect. They offer to us a mirror of that degraded state of man which it is painful to contemplate.

Of all the people constituting the great Polynesian family, the New Zealanders have, at least of late years, attracted the largest portion of public attention. Their character exhibits, with remarkable boldness of relief, many both of the vices and the virtues of the savage state. They present a striking contrast to the timid and luxurious Otaheitans, and the miserable outcasts of Australia. The masculine independence they at once manifested in their first encounters with us, and the startling resistance they offered to our proud pre-eminence, served to stimulate the feelings of curiosity with which we are now accustomed to regard them. The interest which they thus excite is probably created, in a great degree, by the prevailing disposition of our minds to regard with anxious attention any display of human power. The New Zealanders are not a feeble or a timid people. From the days of their first intercourse with Europeans they gave blow for blow. They did not stand still to be slaughtered, like the Peruvians by the Spaniards; but they tried the strength of the club against the flash of the musket. They have destroyed, sometimes treacherously, always cruelly, the people of many European vessels, from the days of their first discovery to our own times;—but it would be difficult to say that they had no justification in our aggressions, whether immediate or recollected—or at any rate that they did not strongly feel the necessity for self-defence on all such occasions. They are ignorant of some of the commonest arts—their clothing is rude, their agriculture imperfect, they have no knowledge of metals, writing is unknown to them;—and yet they exhibit the

keenest sense of the value of those acquirements which render Europeans so greatly their superiors. Many of the natives have voluntarily undertaken a voyage to England, that they might see the wonders of civilization ;—and when they have looked upon our fertile fields, our machines for the abridgment of human labour, our manufactories, they have begged to be sent back to their own country, with the means of imitating what their own progress enabled them to comprehend were blessings. Their passion is war ; and they carry on that excitement in the most terrific way that the fierceness of man has ever devised ;—they devour their slaughtered enemies. And yet they feel that this rude warfare may be assisted by the arts of destruction which civilized men employ ; and they come to us for the musket and the sword, to invade, or to repel the invader. All these, and many more features of their character, shew an intellectual vigour, which is the root of ultimate civilization. They are not insensible to the arts of cultivated life, as the New Hollander is ;—or wholly bound in the chain of superstitions which control the efforts of the docile Hindoo, and hold his mind in thraldom. They are neither apathetic as the Turk, who believes that nothing can change the destiny of himself or his nation ; nor self-satisfied as the poor Tartar, who said, "Were I to boast, it would be of that wisdom I have received from God ; for as, on the one hand, I yield to none in the conduct of war, so on the other I have my talent in writing, inferior perhaps only to them who inhabit the great cities of Persia or India. Of other nations, unknown to me, I do not speak*." The New Zealander knows his own power as a savage; but he also knows that the people of European communities have a much more

* History of the Tartars ; quoted in Fergusson's Civil Society.

extensive and durable power, which he is desirous to share. He has his instruments of bone, but he asks for iron; he has his club, but he comes to us for a musket. Baubles he despises. He possesses the rude arts of savage nations in an eminent degree: he can carve elegantly in wood, and he is tattooed with a graceful minuteness which is not devoid of symmetrical elegance. Yet he is not insensible to the value of the imitative arts of Europeans, and he takes delight in our sculpture and our paintings. His own social habits are unrefined—his cookery is coarse—his articles of furniture are rude. Yet he adapts himself at once to the usages of the best English society, and displays that ease and self-confidence which are the peculiar marks of individual refinement. He exhibits little contradiction between his original condition of a cannibal at home, and his assumed one of a gentleman here. Add to all this, that he is as capable of friendship as of enmity,—and we shall have no difficulty in perceiving that the New Zealander possesses a character which, at no distant period, may become an example of the rapidity with which the barbarian may be wholly refined, when brought into contact with a nation which neither insults nor oppresses him, and which exhibits to him the influence of a benevolent religion in connexion with the force of practical knowledge.

To gather and compare the scattered notices of this people, which have been given by many voyagers and residents in the country, and to contrast their condition with that of other uncivilized tribes, is the object of the present volume. We have also the advantage of consulting an original narrative, written by a sailor who was detained by them for several years. Such a work must possess considerable interest. Nothing can be more valuable to a philosophical inquirer, and nothing more attractive

to a general reader, than a faithful picture of an energetic portion of mankind at a particular stage of their progress from barbarism to civilization. The skill which such a people have acquired, and the dispositions they manifest for a more abundant possession of the knowledge of civilized communities, throw a light over the wants of savage life, which may be highly useful, also, in guiding our future conduct towards every portion of the human race requiring to be led forward from the ignorance and misery of a barbarous state. From the great extent of the country, too, the probable value of some of its productions, its proximity to one of our most important colonies, and the convenience of its harbours for the resort of the ships engaged in a valuable branch of our trade, New Zealand has a strong claim upon our attention as a commercial people; and it is likely to become still more the subject of general interest as its resources develop themselves.

It will be convenient to begin our account of the New Zealanders by a short narrative of the first discovery of the country, and the adventures of some of its earlier visiters.

Chapter II.

Progress of discovery.—The South Sea first seen from the isthmus of Darien, by Basco Nugnez de Balboa.—Traversed by Magellan.—New Zealand perhaps visited by Juan Fernandez.—Voyage of discovery of Tasman.—Van Diemen's Land.—New Zealand.—Hostile behaviour of its inhabitants.—Account of Cook's first visit to it.—Ascertained to be composed of two islands.—Minute survey of the coast.—Size of the islands.

So early as the close of the thirteenth century, Marco Polo had announced that the further boundaries of Tartary and China were washed by the sea; but it was more than two centuries later before any European looked upon the immense ocean lying between Asia and America from its opposite shore. It was seen for the first time on the 25th of September, 1513, from the coast of the isthmus of Darien, by the Spanish commander Basco Nugnez de Balboa, who, immediately falling upon his knees, returned thanks to heaven with uplifted hands for having bestowed on him so great an honour. As the isthmus of Darien lies nearly east and west, the new sea, as first viewed, appeared to be situated to the south of the old, or Atlantic Ocean, and hence it received the name of the South Sea. It was several years later, however, before it was completely ascertained that this was the same sea with that by which China and India were bounded on the east. This was first established by the voyage of the celebrated Fernando de Magalhaens, or Magellan, as he is commonly called in English, whose ships traversed the South Sea from the western coast of the American continent to the Moluccas, in the year 1521. The tranquil weather

experienced in the course of this navigation obtained for the new ocean its other name of the Pacific.

Although in the course of the first century which succeeded the adventurous expedition of Magalhaens, many of the more northerly islands scattered throughout the Pacific Ocean were discovered by the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and English navigators who followed his path across that immense expanse of waters, New Zealand lay too far to the south of the track uniformly pursued by those who attempted the western passage to India to fall in the way of any of them. Yet some geographers have supposed that this was the country at which Juan Fernandez arrived, when, having set out from one of the ports of the west coast of South America in the year 1576, he sailed for about a month towards the south-west, and then reached a land which is described as having been fertile and pleasant, and inhabited by a race of white * people, well made, and dressed in a species of woven cloth. There appears no reason to doubt that the navigation in question was performed about the time that has been stated; and New Zealand certainly is the only country yet known which at all answers the account given of Fernandez's discovery. It is not impossible, however, that the land at which he arrived may have been some other island or continent, not so far to the west, which has yet eluded the search of succeeding navigators.

It was on the 14th of August, 1642, that the Dutch navigator Abel Jansen Tasman, whose name now occupies so honourable a place in the history of nautical discovery, left the port of Batavia in the East Indies, on a voyage to the yet almost unentered regions of the southern Pacific. He was despatched

* People of brown complexion are very generally described as white in the Spanish, and even in the French accounts of countries in the South Sea.

on this expedition by Anthony Van Diemen, then governor of the Dutch possessions in that quarter of the globe; and had under his command the yacht Heemskirk, and the Zeehaan fly boat. The first reward of Tasman's research was the discovery of Van Diemen's Land*. After spending some days in navigating the coasts of this country, he proceeded towards the east, till, on the 13th of September, being then in latitude 32° 10′ S. and longitude 167° 21′ E from Greenwich†, he again saw land lying about a degree to the S.S.E. Next day, after having steered east, he was within two miles of the shore, beyond which the mountains were so high, that their tops could not be seen for the clouds which rested upon them. They continued to pursue the course of the coast to the northward, keeping so close to the land that they could see the waves break on the shore; and for some days could perceive neither houses, nor smoke, nor any other sign of inhabitants. At last, on the 17th, they reached the northern extremity of the land, and, turning to the east, anchored next day within a large bay, three or four miles wide. It was now that the natives for the first time made their appearance, two of their canoes having put out from the shore soon after sun-set, the people in which called out to the Dutch in a strong, rough voice, but in a language which the latter did not understand. They sounded also an instrument, which, Tasman

* By an odd mistake, the discovery of Van Diemen's Land was for a long time attributed to a navigator named Zechaen or Zeachen, a name which was in reality nothing else than a corruption of that of one of Tasman's ships, the *Zechaan* or *Zechaen*, literally, the *Hen of the Sea*.

† As deduced from Tasman's statement, who reckons from the Peak of Teneriffe. Tasman's reckoning of longitude, however, is generally from two to three degrees too far west; so that he was probably at this time in reality nearly 170° E. or above 190° W. from Greenwich.

says, made a noise like a Moorish trumpet, and which was probably merely a species of shell, such as is used in other islands of the South Sea, for the purpose of convoking the people to war, and on other occasions. The New Zealand chiefs, it would seem, carry such shells at the present day as part of their usual accoutrements. "Mowenna had his shell hung upon his arm, which he immediately sounded; when his people flew to arms in all directions, and those that were with me girded up their loins, and prepared for war or flight, as circumstances might dictate*."

At night-fall, the canoes returned to the shore; but next morning a boat with thirteen men in it made its appearance, and approached within a stone's cast of the ship. The people, now more distinctly seen, appeared to be of common stature, and strong boned, their colour between brown and yellow, and their hair black, which they wore tied up on the crown of the head like the Japanese, each having a large white feather stuck upright in it. Their vessels were double canoes, fastened together by cross planks, on which they sat. Their clothing seemed to be of mats, or of cotton; but most of them had the breast naked. It is remarked, that their language seemed to bear no resemblance to that of the Solomon Isles, with a vocabulary of which Tasman had been furnished by the General and Council at Batavia.

The people in this canoe also rowed back after some time to the land, having been in vain tempted to come on board by the exhibition of fish, linen, and knives. Immediately afterwards, however, seven other canoes put out towards the ships, and one of them came within half a stone's cast of that in which Tasman was. Meanwhile a boat, in which were a quartermaster and six seamen, was despatched from the

* Rev. Mr. Marsden's Journal of a Visit to New Zealand in 1820, printed in the Missionary Register for 1822, p. 446.

Heemskirk to the Zeehaan, which lay at a little distance, to direct the people in the latter to keep on their guard, and not suffer too many of the canoes to come alongside. No sooner had the boat put off than the natives in the nearest canoes called to those that were further off, making at the same time a signal to them with their paddles; and when she had got quite clear of the ship, such of the canoes as were within reach, rushed with their beaks violently against her, so as to make her heel. At the same time one of the savages, with what Tasman calls a blunt pointed pike, gave the quarter-master a violent blow in his neck, which made him fall overboard. The others then attacked the rest of the boat's crew with their paddles, and with short, thick clubs, which the Dutch had at first taken for clumsy *parangs* (knives used in some parts of the East Indies for cutting wood); and in a few moments three of the seamen were killed, and a fourth mortally wounded. After this the assailants made a precipitate retreat, carrying with them one of the dead bodies; and before those on board the ships could be ready to avenge the murder of their comrades, they were out of reach of the guns.

Having no hope of obtaining refreshments after what had happened, Tasman immediately left the scene of this bloody transaction, which he designated the "Bay of Murderers." Cook supposes this to be, not the opening which in his first voyage he named Blind Bay, but another, a short way to the north-west of it, and about six leagues to the east of Cape Farewell, the north-western extremity of the southern island*. When they were under sail, twenty-two more boats put off from the shore, and advanced towards them, at which they fired, but without hitting any person on board, except a man

* Second Voyage.

in the foremost canoe, who was standing with a white flag in his hand. The shot, however, striking against the canoes, made them all retreat towards the shore. Instead of continuing his course towards the east, Tasman now stood to the north, and soon came again in sight of land ahead. He now took it for granted, that in his tack eastward he had only entered a large bay, and that the land before him belonged to the same island or continent with that which he had left behind.

Attack on Tasman's Ships—a fac-simile of the drawing in his Journal.

At this time, and for more than a century afterwards, the existence of a land extending around the South Pole, which was denominated the *Terra Incognita Australis*, was the favourite dream of geographers; and upon this Tasman imagined that he had

now touched: "it is a very fine country," says he, "and we hope it is part of the *Unknown South Continent*." Twenty-six years before this, his countrymen, Schouten and Le Maire, on penetrating into the Pacific through the strait which bears the name of the latter, had given that of Staten Land, or States' Land, to the coast which appeared on their left, and which they conceived to belong also to the long-sought Polar Continent. Tasman accordingly gave the same name to the land which he had just discovered, under the impression that it might be only another part of the same extensive region. It happened, however, that, within three months after this, Schouten's Staten Land was found to be merely an inconsiderable island; another Dutch navigator, Hendrick Brouwer, having sailed round its eastern and southern coasts in making a voyage to Chili. Upon this discovery being announced, the country which Tasman had called Staten Land lost its first name, and received, instead, that of NEW ZEALAND, by which it has ever since been known.

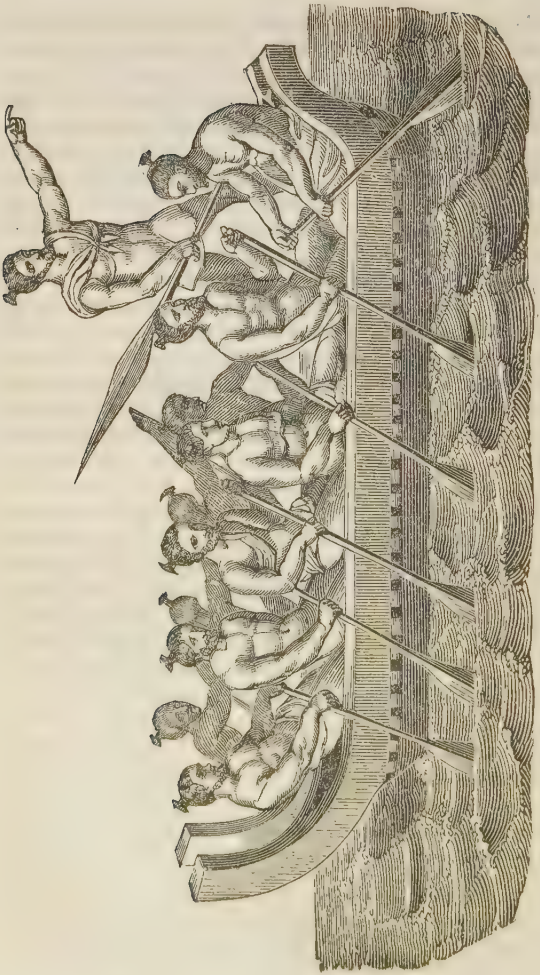
After the attack made upon the boat in Murderers' Bay, Tasman did not attempt to put in at any other part of the coast of New Zealand; but on passing its north-western extremity, off which he arrived on the 4th of January, 1643, he bestowed upon it the name of Cape Maria Van Diemen, in honour, it is said, of a young lady, a relation of the East India governor, to whom he was attached. Two days afterwards he came to an anchor on the north side of an island, lying a few miles to the north-west of the cape, which, in allusion to the day (Epiphany-day), he named the *Island of the Three Kings* *.

* Epiphany-day (literally the day of the appearance or manifestation) is that on which the infant Christ was visited by the three Magi, or wise men from the East, as related by St. Matthew, chap. ii. In Catholic countries, these three personages have generally been called the Three Kings of Cologne, in conformity

This was all that Tasman saw of New Zealand, the existence of which, however, he was certainly the first to make known.

It was a considerable time after Tasman's voyage had been performed before any narrative of it was given to the world. An imperfect account at last appeared in Dutch, which was soon translated into English and French, and became very popular. But although more complete details of it were subsequently given, and especially by Valentyn, in his magnificent work on the possessions of the Dutch in the East Indies, published about a century ago, where we find the relation illustrated by copies of charts and views from Tasman's own journal, it was only very recently that that interesting document itself was rescued from oblivion. The public are indebted for its preservation to the late Sir Joseph Banks, who, having purchased the manuscript, which was written in Dutch, had a translation of it made into English: and this, accompanied by accurate copies of the principal drawings in the original, has since been printed in the third volume of Admiral Burney's History of Discoveries in the South Sea. Among the plates are a chart of the west coast of New Zealand, as far as it was seen by Tasman, and a sketch of the attack upon the boat in Murderers' Bay (which we have copied in the preceding page), together with a picture of one of the canoes, which is curious from the representations it has preserved of the figures and attire of the natives.

with a legend which may be found in various authors. Their bodies are said to have been brought from the East to Constantinople, in the beginning of the fourth century, by the Empress Helena; from Constantinople, they were transferred to Milan; and from thence, on the capture of that city by the Emperor Frederick in 1166, they found their way to Cologne, where they are reported to be still preserved.



Canoe and Natives—from Tasman's Journal.

After Tasman's departure no account has been preserved of any visit paid to New Zealand till the year 1769, when, on the 6th of October, it was seen by Captain Cook, bearing W. by N., on his return from the Society Isles, in the course of his first circumnavigation of the globe. There is great reason, however, for believing that some European ship had put in at New Zealand only a few years before this visit of Cook's. Some of the communications made by the natives to the great English navigator when he was there, both in October, 1774, and February, 1777, are scarcely to be understood without supposing them to refer to such an event. Indeed two young New Zealanders, whom he took away with him on his last departure from the country, expressly told him that another ship had touched at the island a short time before the appearance of the Endeavour, and gave their account in such a way as convinced Cook that they could not be mistaken. This unknown vessel seems to have come to New Zealand from the west, and to have put in either on the west coast, a little to the north of Tasman's Bay of Murderers, or perhaps on the north side of the same large opening in which that bay lies. There is too much ground for apprehending, both from the tenor of some of the confused and imperfect statements which Captain Cook received in the country, and from this visit, if it ever was made, never having been heard of in Europe, that both the unfortunate vessel and her crew must have perished on these barbarous coasts, having been destroyed, in all probability, by the natives*. The land, which Cook

* Captain Cruise was told by one of the natives, an old man, of a ship that had been lost on the west coast, at a comparatively recent period. A boat's crew, he said, having gone on shore to trade for provisions, were cut off by the natives. Cruise's Journal, pp. 86, 87.

ascertained to be New Zealand became, we are told, the subject of much eager conversation on board; "but the general opinion," it is added, "seemed to be that we had found the *Terra Australis incognita*." On drawing nearer they saw smoke ascending from different places on shore; and at last they could perceive that "the hills were clothed with wood, and that some of the trees in the vallies were very large." Cook was now approaching New Zealand on the opposite side from that on which Tasman had been, nearly one hundred and twenty-seven years before, and in a latitude considerably to the north of that in which it had first presented itself to the Dutch navigator. For some time, in consequence of a violent north wind, he found it impossible to weather a point of land which formed the south-west head of a bay he wished to enter; but at last, about four o'clock on the afternoon of the 8th, he came to an anchor on the north-west side of the bay, in latitude 38° 42′ S., and longitude 181° 36′ W. from Greenwich*. Here he lay before the entrance of a small river, about half a league from the shore. The sides of the bay were "white cliffs of a great height; the middle low land, with hills gradually rising behind, one towering above another, and terminating in a chain of mountains, which appeared to be far inland."

Captain Cook's first intercourse with the New Zealanders was not calculated to prepossess either party with favourable sentiments towards the other. On the same evening on which he arrived in the bay, he went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks

* On making his observations with more care in the course of a subsequent visit to New Zealand, Cook discovered that in the Journal of his first voyage, and the chart accompanying it, he had laid down the whole of the northern island half a degree, and the southern 40′, too far east. Vid. Second Voyage, ii. 161.

and Dr. Solander; but they had not long left their boat when they were attacked by a party of the natives. They were at last obliged to fire in self-defence, and one of the New Zealanders was shot. Another attempt, which was made the following morning, to establish a friendly intercourse with them was attended with no better success, although it was now found that a native of Otaheite, named Tupia, who was on board the ship, could make himself perfectly understood by speaking to them in his own language. In the course of the day, however, Cook at last succeeded in getting some of these suspicious islanders on board; but it was only by using force, and after a contest, which unhappily proved a very bloody one. He had set out along with three boats to make the circuit of the bay in search of fresh water, that in the river being found to be salt, when he met one of their fishing canoes coming in from the sea, having seven people on board, four men and three boys. As soon as the New Zealanders perceived the boats, which they did not do till they were almost in the midst of them, they took to their paddles, and plied them so briskly that they would actually have effected their escape, had not Cook ordered a musket to be fired over their heads, thinking this would probably make them surrender. But unfortunately it had not that effect; for although, on the discharge of the piece, they immediately ceased paddling, and began to strip, it was only that, unequal as was the contest, they might meet and fight their assailants. They themselves, indeed, as soon as the boat came up, commenced the attack with their paddles, and what other weapons they had with them; and so obstinate was the resistance they made, that the scuffle did not end till the four men were killed. On this the boys, the eldest of whom was about nineteen, and the youngest about eleven,

instantly leaped into the water; but although even here they continued their resistance by every means in their power, they were at last taken up, and placed in the boat. It is but just to Captain Cook to give his own remarks on this unfortunate transaction. "I am conscious," says he, "that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people; and it is impossible that, upon a calm review, I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises, or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good-will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid further hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method left of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal; and though, in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expense of life, yet in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect*."

When the boys were first brought into the boat, they seemed evidently to have no hope of anything except instant death; but, upon being kindly treated, and furnished with clothes, they very soon forgot both their alarm on their own account, and even their grief for the loss of their friends, and gradually got into high spirits. When dinner was set upon the

* Hawkesworth, Account of Cook's First Voyage, ii. 290.

table they were anxious to partake of every dish, and seemed particularly delighted with the salt pork and bread. They ate voraciously, and at sunset made another enormous meal, devouring as before a large quantity of bread, and drinking above a quart of water. But although they had been so cheerful during the day, and had taken apparently a great deal of interest in whatever their attention was directed to, the recollection of what had befallen them seemed to return to them after they were in bed, and during the night they sighed often and loud. By Tupia's encouragements, however, they were soon once more enabled to escape from their gloomy reflections, and were even induced to amuse their entertainers with a song. "The tune," says Cook, "was solemn and slow, like those of our psalms, containing many notes and semitones." In the morning they again ate with extraordinary appetite; and having then been dressed, and adorned with bracelets, anklets, and necklaces, expressed at first the greatest joy upon being told that they were to be sent on shore. When they came to the place, however, at which it was proposed to land them, they entreated with great earnestness that they might not be put ashore there, "because," they said, "it was inhabited by their enemies, who would kill them and eat them." But their fears left them, when, upon landing in company with Captain Cook and the boat's crew, they perceived the uncle of one of them among the Indians who had assembled on the beach. Yet after some hesitation, and an attempt to ascertain the disposition of their countrymen, they finally preferred returning with the English; and they were accordingly again taken on board the boat. They changed their minds once more after dinner, and with their own consent were again sent on shore; but on seeing the boat that had conveyed them put off from the land, they waded into the water, and earnestly

entreated to be taken on board. The people in the boat, however, had positive orders to leave them, and could not comply. Cook was, some time after, distinctly informed that they had received no injury.

Finding it impossible to procure supplies of any kind where he lay, Captain Cook next morning weighed anchor, bestowing the name of *Poverty Bay* upon the place where he had been so inhospitably received. It was called *Taoneroa* by the natives. He then sailed along the coast towards the south, in which direction he proceeded as far as Cape Turnagain, in latitude 40° 34′. From this point he returned towards the north, touching at various places as he proceeded. On the 25th of December, they were attacked by a tremendous gale of wind, which increased to a hurricane on the following evening. The Endeavour was not the only European ship which chanced at this time to be contending with the tempest on these inhospitable shores.

Cook was now on the same side of New Zealand which had been coasted by Tasman; and in proceeding as he did to the southward, he merely sailed, but in an opposite direction, along the track of the Dutch navigator. On arriving at the large opening, on the south side of which Tasman had found his fatal anchoring-place, he turned into it; and eventually discovered that it was not a bay, as had been supposed, but an open passage between the east and west coasts of the country. To this passage, the name of Cook's Strait has been given. Having passed through it, and afterwards sailed towards the north till he came again in sight of Cape Turnagain, thus ascertaining the country he had been coasting to be an island, he next proceeded to examine the other land, which he had seen to the south, which he also entirely circumnavigated. In the course of this survey of the coasts of New Zealand, Captain Cook had a

great deal of intercourse with the inhabitants, and enjoyed many opportunities of observing their manners and method of life, as well as of examining the various natural productions of the country. But we must refer to the published account of his voyage for these more particular details. His visit must be considered the most important that has ever been made to those islands, in so far, at least, as respects the geography of the country. The notices derived from other authorities have, in fact, added but little to the geographical information for which we are indebted to Cook. The chart of New Zealand, so far as we are in possession of it, is almost entirely the result of his examinations; and if to the discoveries made on his first voyage we add the corrections and more minute specifications which are to be gathered from the journals of his subsequent visits, we shall certainly have a sufficiently particular and exact delineation of these remote, and still, in great part, unfrequented regions. He himself states his conviction that the situation of few parts of the world is better ascertained than that of at least a portion of the coasts of New Zealand, which he investigated. To this we may add the testimony of a French navigator, who, as will immediately appear, had occasion, soon after his departure, to sail along the western coast of the northern island. "As soon as I got hold of the voyage of the English," says M. Crozet, "I compared with care the chart which I had drawn of the portion which we ran along of the coast of New Zealand, with that taken by Captain Cook and his officers. I found it to possess an exactness and minuteness which astonished me beyond all expression. I doubt whether our own coasts of France have been delineated with more precision*."

* Voyage de M. Marion, p. 38.

A late writer, Mr. Nicholas, has, by the aid of Cook's chart, attempted an estimate of the extent of the two islands composing New Zealand, according to which, the northern island, called by the natives Eaheinomauwe, is laid down as containing about 26,160 square miles, and the southern, to which Cook at first understood them to give the name of Tovai Poenammoo, about 36,000. But this measurement, which has been adopted and copied in subsequent works, is evidently very considerably under the truth. The area of the northern island is certainly above 30,000 geographical, or 40,000 English square miles, while that of the southern is considerably more than a third larger. The extent of the two is at least 95,000 English miles square.

View in New Zealand, from Cook's Voyages.

Chapter III.

Visits of different navigators to New Zealand.—Account of the voyage of M. de Surville, and of his transactions at New Zealand.—Voyage of M. Marion du Fresne.—Massacre of himself and part of his crew.

Cook's ship, as we have already hinted, was not the only European vessel which the year 1769 brought to the shores of New Zealand, notwithstanding that, in so far as is distinctly known, they had remained unvisited till then, from the time of Tasman. On the 8th of December, the great English navigator passed an opening not far from the northern extremity of the east coast of Eaheinomauwe, on which he has bestowed the name of *Doubtless Bay;* and he kept plying to the north of this bay till the evening of the 12th. On this very day, singularly enough, a French vessel, the *Saint Jean Baptiste*, under the command of M. de Surville, also first came in sight of the very same part of New Zealand.

A short narrative of M. de Surville's voyage is to be found annexed to the Abbé Rochon's account of that of M. Marion*; and from this it appears, that de Surville had left the port of Engely in the Ganges on the 3d of March, 1769, on an expedition in quest of an island, said to have been some time before dis-

* Published at Paris, in one volume 8vo., in 1783. In 1791, the Abbé Rochon published another volume, containing an account of his own voyages to Madagascar and the East Indies, which was reprinted in 1802, with the addition of two other volumes, in the last of which appears a second narrative of the voyages of De Surville and Marion, in most respects copied from the former, but with a few new remarks interspersed. Our notice is derived from

covered by the English, about seven hundred leagues to the west of the coast of Peru, abounding both in the precious metals and every other description of wealth. De Surville was an able and intrepid seaman, and if any captain could have conducted the ship to the fabled isle of gold, of which it was sent in search, he was certainly as likely to be successful as any other*. He commenced his voyage by visiting some of the more northern islands of the great Indian Archipelago, through which he afterwards steered his course in a south-easterly direction; but we must pass over the adventures he met with during the first nine months he was at sea. We find him, on the 30th of November, at an island to the east of New Guinea, which he named the Island of Contrariety, but which was, in all probability, one of the Solomon Isles. From this he proceeded towards the south, and on the 12th of December, as we have already mentioned, arrived in sight of the north-east coast of New Zealand. He was prevented, however, for some days, by contrary winds, from making the land; but at last, on the 17th, he succeeded in effecting his entrance into an inlet, to which he gave the name of *Lauriston Bay*, in honour of the governor-general, and which was the same that Cook had called *Doubtless Bay*. At this time, Cook was still beating about, not a great way

a collation of both publications, as well as from other sources. In his last-mentioned work, Rochon refers to the journals of M. Monneron, supercargo on board the Saint Jean Baptiste, and M. Potier de l'Orme, another of the officers, as his authorities for the account of De Surville's voyage. The latter, however, he had not seen at the time of his first publication.

* The Abbé Rochon tells us (Voyages aux Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 233), that he was himself at Pondicherry, in August, 1769, when the report was spread about the discovery by the English of this marvellous isle. Among other strange stories that were told of it, it was said to be inhabited by a colony of Jews.

to the north *. Having come to an anchor, De Surville, the day following, went on shore, and was very hospitably received by the natives. Next day he landed again, when he found a considerable body of them assembled to meet him, one of whom, who appeared to be a chief, advanced from among the rest, and, having come up to him, demanded his musket. Upon his refusing to part with it, he was next asked to let them have his sword; and with this request he thought proper to comply. As soon as the chief had received the sword, he marched off with it to his countrymen, and addressed them for some time in a loud voice, after which he brought back the weapon, and restored it to its owner. It would appear, that the evidence De Surville had thus given of the confidence he placed in them had completely won the hearts of these people; for after this, they shewed every disposition to treat their visiters as friends, and supplied them abundantly with such refreshments as they wanted. On the 22d, De Surville left his first anchorage, and proceeded to another in a cove at the head of the bay, which he named *Cove Chevalier*. Soon after he had dropped anchor in this second harbour, a terrible tempest arose, and swept the coast with such fury, as to tear the ship from her moorings, and to expose her for some time to the most imminent hazard of destruction. This was the same storm by which Captain Cook, it will be remembered, was attacked on the 27th, at which time, however, he was to the south-west of Cape Maria Van Diemen, and consequently on the opposite side of the island to that on which the French vessel lay.

During the gale, a boat, in which were the invalids of De Surville's crew, in attempting to make

* The facts as to the relative position of the two vessels are not quite correctly stated in the Abbé Rochon's book.

from the shore to the ship, was very nearly lost; but contrived at last to get into a small creek, which hence received the name of *Refuge Cove.* As soon as they had arrived here, the sick men were sent on shore; and nothing could exceed the kindness with which they were received and treated, during their stay, by Naginoui, the chief or lord of the adjoining village. They remained in his care, having his house for their home, and feeding upon his bounty (for he would accept of no remuneration for the refreshments with which he supplied them), till the storm was over; and then, on the 29th, they got back in safety to the ship. But this conduct of the humane and generous New Zealander was soon after cruelly requited by the French commander. Having missed one of his small boats during the storm, De Surville was induced from some circumstances to believe that the natives had stolen it; and he determined to be avenged for this supposed injury. Seeing, therefore, one of the chiefs walking on the shore, he made him a signal from the ship, and with many professions of friendship invited him to come on board—which, however, the unsuspecting savage had no sooner done than he found himself a prisoner. Not satisfied with this treachery, De Surville next gave orders that a village which he pointed out should be set on fire; and it was accordingly burned to the ground. It was the very village in which the sick seamen had a few days before been so liberally entertained; and the chief who had been ensnared on board the ship was their host Naginoui. Immediately after this infamous transaction, De Surville left New Zealand, carrying the chief with him. But Naginoui did not long survive his separation from his country; he died of a broken heart, on the 24th of March, 1770, when the ship was off the island of Juan Fernandez on

her way to Peru *. The conduct of the French captain in this instance was only of the same character with that which he had been accustomed to pursue in the course of his voyage. While he was lying at one of the islands which he had fell in with to the east of New Guinea, an incident very similar to that which occurred at New Zealand had embroiled him with the natives, and on his departure he had also carried one of them away with him. De Surville was a man of great ability and energy of character, but in an equal degree unfeeling and unscrupulous. The termination of his career was somewhat singular. He had been appointed to the command of this expedition after having held various offices of high dignity in India, both as being deemed the person of all others in the service best fitted to conduct it, and that he might be put in the way of what was imagined so favourable an opportunity of acquiring both riches and reputation. But after a vain cruise of little more than a twelvemonth, in search of the Eldorado which he had set out to discover, he was obliged, although the ship was victualled for a voyage of three years, to abandon his object, owing to the general ill health of his crew, and to bend his course towards the coast of South America. He arrived at Callao on the 5th of April, 1770; when, anxious to obtain as soon as possible an audience of the Viceroy of Peru, he immediately put off for that purpose from the ship in a

* See a more extended account of Naginoui (there called Naginouni) in Rochon's Voyages aux Indes Orientales, tom. iii. pp. 388, 389, from the Journal of P. de l'Orme. While on ship-board, although he ate with great voracity whatever came in his way, he still appeared, it is stated, to regret the want of his primitive food, the fern-root. It was remarked, that his teeth were very small, and that he experienced great difficulty in pronouncing the letter *l*.

small boat, although the tide was very unfavourable for landing, and perished in the surf*.

The next visit that was paid to New Zealand was also by the French, and it is one of the most memorable in the early history of our acquaintance with this country and its inhabitants. It was on the 18th of October, 1771, that M. Marion du Fresne sailed from the Isle of France in the Mascarin, having on board a young native of Otaheite, whom Bougainville had a few years before brought with him to Europe, and whom it was now determined to send back to his own country. Marion's ship was accompanied by the *Marquis de Castries*, under the command of M. Duclesmeur; and it was intended from the first that the two vessels, after conveying home Aotourou†, should proceed to explore the southern Pacific in quest of its hidden islands or continents; not forgetting the Island of Gold, the existence of which, however, now began to be very generally doubted—so that Marion was ordered to spend only a moderate time in searching for it. But he was especially directed to examine New Zealand—an evidence of the interest that had already been excited by the accounts of De Surville and Cook. Aotourou having been attacked by small pox, died at Madagascar; and Marion then pursued his voyage to the south-east. On the 10th of February, 1772, he touched at Van Diemen's Land; but here he could procure neither wood nor water, on which he continued his course eastward, till, on the 24th of

* In the Admiralty Charts, sec. 14, there is a plan of the Bay of Lauriston, which is stated to be copied from a French manuscript dated December, 1769, that had been communicated by M. d'Après (the eminent hydrographer, and author of the *Neptune Oriental*). This plan must have been taken by De Surville or some of his officers.

† So called in Bougainville's Voyage, and elsewhere. But M. Crozet gives him the name of Mayoa.

March, they came in sight of the west coast of New Zealand. The point of the country off which they arrived was the south-western extremity of the northern island, to which Cook had given the name of Cape Egmont. Marion called it Le Pic Mascarin. They then proceeded in a northerly direction, keeping all the way at the distance of from one to three leagues from shore, till on the 4th of April they came in sight of the Island of the Three Kings. They were detained in this neighbourhood a considerable time, without being able to find a landing-place at any part of the island—the inhabitants of which, however, appeared to them to be of unusual height, as they saw them from the distance of about a league. On the 10th they put in to the main land, near Cape Maria Van Diemen, but were soon after driven from their anchorage by a gale of wind; so that, after regaining it on the 26th, they determined to set out on the following day in search of a more secure shelter. Proceeding along the coast towards the south-east, they arrived, on the 3d of May, off Cape Brett, which they called *Cap Quarré;* and here they sent a boat ashore. Three canoes also came out to them from the coast, the natives in one of which were with some difficulty induced to come on board, but having been taken into the cabin, ate with great pleasure the bread which was set before them. It was with manifest repugnance, however, that they drank a little of some spirituous liquors. Some shirts, and other European attire, being given them, they immediately dressed themselves in these new habiliments, of which they seemed exceedingly vain. On being shewn several common iron tools, such as axes, scissors, and hatchets, they evinced the strongest anxiety to get possession of them, and instantly took up and handled each of them in such a way as to let it be seen that they completely understood its

use. This was a lesson of civilization for which they had doubtless been indebted to the visits of Cook and De Surville; for in no part of the northern island, at least, does it appear that the former on his arrival found the people to have any acquaintance whatever with iron; and if it seemed to be held in higher estimation by some of those whom he met with in the neighbourhood of Queen Charlotte's Sound, unless they were indebted for their superior knowledge to the vessel by which we have supposed it likely that they may have been visited previous to Cook's arrival, they had probably only newly learned its value from their countrymen with whom the English had been some months before.

The New Zealanders left Marion's ship delighted, apparently, with the presents they had received; but as soon as they had got on shore they were observed to strip themselves of their new clothes, which they put away into some hiding-place, and to attire themselves again in their old ones. After they had taken their leave, their countrymen in the other two canoes came on board, and, being similarly treated, were equally well pleased with their reception. Five or six of them, indeed, remained in the ship all night, and both slept soundly and ate heartily, although they would neither taste wine nor spirits. Among them was a chief, named Tacouri, of whom we shall hear more presently.

Having thus begun an amicable intercourse with the natives, Marion determined to put in to the Bay of Islands, which lies immediately to the north of Cape Brett; and he cast anchor there, accordingly, on the 11th of May. On the following day he landed the sick part of his crew on one of the numerous islands within the bay, which was called by the natives Motouaro. Abundance of fish was now brought to them by the New Zealanders, who seemed by their

whole conduct disposed to regard them as friends; while their intercourse with each other was rendered much more agreeable, by the discovery, which was accidentally made, that the language of the country was nearly the same with that of Otaheite, of which the French had a vocabulary on board, and which they consequently found to be, if not quite a perfect, at least a very useful medium of communication. This important fact was found out, as he tells us himself, by M. Crozet, Marion's first lieutenant, from whose papers the Abbé Rochon has compiled his account of the voyage*. Crozet, in his anxiety to make himself understood, while conversing with one of the natives, bethought him of trying whether one or two of his Otaheite words might not assist him, when to his surprise he found his meaning apprehended at once. We have seen that Cook had discovered the same agreement between the languages of New Zealand and the Society Isles, when he put ashore at Poverty Bay, which is a considerable way to the south of the Bay of Islands.

Mr. Balbi †, a distinguished French writer on statistics, seems to think that the notion of the intimate affinity of the two dialects in question (which he allows, however, to belong to the same family of languages) has nothing else to support it except the circumstance of Tupia's being able to make himself intelligible to the New Zealanders. Tupia, he imagines, being one of the most learned of his countrymen, must have made use of the sacred language of Otaheite on this occasion, with which certain classes of

* Cook met with Crozet at the Cape of Good Hope, on his return from his second voyage in 1775. "He seemed," says Cook, "to be a man possessed of the true spirit of discovery, and to have abilities."

† Introduction à l'Atlas Ethnographique, p. 255.

the New Zealanders might probably be also acquainted. Other natives of the Society Islands, he adds, of lower rank, and less instructed than Tupia, could not succeed in making the New Zealanders understand them. But the fact is, that the only other two natives of the Society Islands, who are recorded to have tried this experiment, appear to have succeeded very nearly as well as Tupia. Both Oedidee and Omai, whom Cook brought away from Otaheite on his second visit to that island, very soon learned to converse easily with the people of New Zealand. Oedidee was a boy of only seventeen or eighteen, and Omai was merely one of the common people. Yet the latter, who came home in Captain Furneaux's ship, when he visited New Zealand with Cook nearly three years afterwards, was that navigator's chief medium of communication with the natives*; and the former, Cook tells us, also very soon learned to converse with them, "as I am persuaded," says he, "he would have done with the people of Amsterdam, (Tonga), had he been a little longer with them; for he did not understand the New Zealanders, at first, any more, or not so much as he understood the people of Amsterdam †." Of the language of these last, he had before remarked that it was found to be the same with that spoken at Otaheite and the Society Isles, "the difference not being greater than what we find betwixt the most northern and western parts of England ‡."

In the succeeding portion of his narrative, M. Crozet gives us a long and interesting account of what he observed in relation to the character and manners of the New Zealanders, during his residence among them. In the course of this account, he men-

* See Third Voyage, i. 134, and elsewhere.
† Second Voyage. ‡ Id.

tions several particulars not noticed by others who have visited the country; and we shall have occasion to refer to some of his statements in a subsequent part of our volume. But in the mean time it will be more convenient to confine ourselves to his details in regard to the melancholy termination of the intercourse with these islanders, which had been seemingly so auspiciously begun.

So intimate did the French soon become with their new acquaintances, and such was the state of harmony and mutual confidence in which they lived together, that while on the one hand the New Zealanders were wont to come at all times freely on board the ships, and often to remain there all night, the crew and officers, on the other, moved about on shore almost as if they had been in their own country, and would even occasionally make excursions in small parties into the interior, traversing the villages of the natives, entering their houses, sharing their meals, and, in fact, putting themselves, in every respect in their power. Almost every officer had his favourite young friend, to whose attachment he was indebted for a thousand little attentions, and whose constant and cheerful service was purchased by the most trivial rewards. Marion himself, in particular, whose authority over the others they were not slow in remarking, seemed to be the object of universal regard; and he felt on his part a corresponding degree of affection for this apparently warm-hearted race, which almost prevented him from setting any bounds to the extent to which he trusted himself to their honour. Crozet asserts, that he himself was almost the only one of the officers who did not quite permit himself to forget all suspicion and precaution in his intercourse with these people. He frequently, he tells us, took the liberty of pointing out to the captain the imprudence of his conduct, and of endea-

vouring to put him a little more upon his guard, but without effect.

And in this way matters went on till the 8th of June, on which day Marion, having gone on shore, was received with even more than the usual honours and enthusiasm. As soon as the islanders had got him in the midst of them, they bestowed upon him the high distinction of decorating his hair with the four white feathers which form among them the insignia of chieftainship; and when he returned on board in the evening, he seemed more delighted than ever with his new friends. It was remarked, however, that from this day the New Zealanders discontinued their visits to the ship; even the officers' attendants, who had been wont to be most frequently on board, no longer making their appearance. The young person who had attached himself to Crozet had come on board in the morning, but wearing an air of melancholy, which was quite unusual; and would neither accept of any remuneration for some small presents which he brought with him, nor even eat any of the food that was offered him. As he took leave in the evening, it was evident, Crozet says, that there was some weight upon his spirits.

Four days after this, namely, on the morning of the 12th, Marion went again on shore, taking with him this time sixteen other persons in the boat, among whom were four of the superior officers. As evening approached it excited some surprise that he did not return on board; but it was known that the party had gone to spend the day in fishing, near a village belonging to Tacouri, the chief we have already mentioned, by this time the familiar acquaintance of all of them; and it was supposed that they might have been prevailed upon, at his hospitable invitation, to remain with him for the night. No suspicion was entertained for a moment that any misfortune

had befallen them. But early next morning a boat was sent on shore from the *Marquis de Castries*, for the purpose of procuring wood and water; and it had been absent for about four hours, when, to the surprise of those in the ship, one of the men who had gonē in it was perceived swimming towards them from the shore. On being taken up and brought on board, this man told them a fearful narrative. He and his eleven companions had been received, on reaching the shore, with every show of affection —the natives even proffering to carry them from the boat to the land on their shoulders, that they might not wet themselves in stepping through the water. When they had got on shore they dispersed, as they had been accustomed to do, to short distances from each other, to gather the wood; and they were very soon completely separated, every one engaged with his work, and unarmed, or at least so entirely off his guard as to make what arms he might have about him useless. While thus employed, and with numbers of the islanders mixed with them, in one moment each was fallen upon by six or eight of these barbarians, who, in almost every case, instantly overpowered whatever resistance was attempted, bearing down their victims to the earth, or hanging upon them so that they could not move a limb, and then beating out their brains with a single stroke of their short stone war-clubs. In this manner eleven of them were speedily despatched; one only, the man who now related the bloody transaction, had escaped the fate of his companions, having been by chance attacked by a smaller number of assailants, from whom, but not without being wounded, he had contrived to extricate himself in the confusion, on which he immediately plunged into a thicket of underwood hard by, where he lay concealed. From this hiding-place he saw the dead bodies of his messmates cu

open and divided among their murderers; who soon after left the spot, each carrying with him the portion he had received, and gave the man an opportunity of making his escape to the water.

On hearing this horrible account, it was impossible that the greatest alarm should not have been felt by all on board for the safety of the captain and those who were with him. The Mascarin's long-boat was immediately sent off, with a strong party, well armed, on board, to ascertain what had become of them, although there was now but little room for doubt as to what had been their fate. On approaching the shore the first object that presented itself to the men charged with this duty, was the boat that had conveyed Marion and his companions the day before, lying on the strand, and filled and surrounded by a tumultuous crowd of the natives. It was thought best, however, not to stop for the present here, but to hasten as fast as possible to a party of the men who had been for some time employed on shore in cutting down trees at a little distance from this place, in order, if not too late, to inform them of what had happened, and to warn them to save themselves from destruction by quitting the island with all possible expedition. This party were at present under the command of Crozet, and consisted of about sixty individuals. Immediately on receiving the intelligence of what had taken place, that officer collected his men, and ordered them instantly to make ready for proceeding on board, but without informing them of any part of what he had heard, lest they might in their exasperation have sacrificed even their own safety to the phrenzy of a rash and unseasonable revenge. From the plan that was adopted, all the tools they had been using were gathered together, and packed up in an orderly manner, before the command was given to march. On their way down to

the water, however, they were followed by multitudes of the natives, who continued saluting them every moment by cries of wild triumph, intimating that Tacouri had killed Marion, and that he was dead and eaten. They did not, however, venture to attack them. But when they had got to the water side, and had halted in order to prepare for embarking, the fury of the savage mob, by whom they were encompassed, seemed to be about to break from the partial control by which it had been till now kept down, and, pressing closer and closer around them, they began to shew every symptom of an intention to commence an attack upon them by a general rush. At this moment Crozet, seizing his musket, called to them with a commanding voice to stand back; and, drawing a line on the ground between them and the spot where his party stood, threatened that he would kill the first man who should dare to overstep it. Cook had resorted with success to this expedient in a similar extremity, when about to be attacked by the inhabitants on one of the islands of this very bay. The expedient was attended with the same success now as it was on that occasion. Not one of the savages ventured to cross the barrier. Nay, when Crozet, addressing them a second time, ordered them to sit down, the command was mildly repeated to the throng by their chiefs, and instantly the whole multitude, to the number of fully a thousand men, seated themselves on the ground. And thus they remained during all the time, which was considerable, that was occupied in the embarkation both of the men and their baggage; but as soon as the last man had stepped into the boat, they rose all at once with a loud shout, as if released from a spell, and hurled a shower of stones and javelins after the fugitive French. These missiles, however, did not do much harm, any more than their vociferous outcries and hideous gesticulations, when

they found their anticipated prey thus, as it were owing to their own infatuation, escaped from them.

New Zealander in the expression of defiance—from a drawing in the British Museum.

They then proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the huts the French had lately tenanted, setting them on fire, and otherwise demolishing them. Some of them, at the same time, entered the water, with the intention of pursuing the boat; but now was come the time when the French could, without risk, render requital for the blood of their butchered countrymen, and they rendered it fully. Shower after shower of musketry was poured in upon the miserable rabble, who, stupified with consternation as they felt their ranks mowed down, actually stood still to be shot at. Crozet says they could have been all killed, and takes

some merit to himself for restraining his men at last from the further prosecution of their murderous work, on an occasion which, it must be confessed, was inflaming enough to the passions of rude natures.

It was eleven o'clock at night before the invalids were got on board from the small island where their establishment had been fixed; but they were all removed in safety. These lamentable events, however, had completely put a stop to the preparations that were making to obtain a supply of wood and water for the ships; and as it was impossible that they could proceed on their voyage without being provided with these articles, a party was sent on shore next day to secure what was wanted, at all hazards. In the performance of this duty, they found it necessary to attack a village on the island of Motouaro, containing about three hundred inhabitants, who evidenced something like a disposition to interrupt them. In this affair also a great many of the natives were killed. Such, indeed, was the terror with which the fire-arms, of the effect of which they had seen so much the preceding day, had inspired them, that the chiefs were utterly unable to prevail upon their warriors even to face their formidable assailants. Yet with such determined obstinacy did they resist every attempt to capture them, that no prisoners could be secured. All their women and children, however, had been previously removed, in the anticipation of this conflict.

Some days after this, while the French were still employed in taking in their wood and water, a number of the natives having been seen dressed in the clothes of the murdered sailors, were pursued, and a good many of them shot. During the whole of the time the French remained, the New Zealanders continued to keep strict watch in all directions, guards being stationed on the tops of all the neighbouring

hills, and fires kept blazing on the same eminences at night. At last everything being in readiness, the former determined to leave the island; but before setting sail, an armed party was once more sent on shore to make the last inquiries after the fate of Marion and his companions, and to inflict yet another chastisement on their destroyers. They proceeded on landing to the village belonging to Tacouri; but on their arrival here they found all the inhabitants had fled, except a few old men, whom it is to be hoped they did not injure. They were just in time, however, to see Tacouri himself running off, having the unfortunate Marion's mantle, which was recognized by the blue English cloth lined with red, of which it was made, hanging from his shoulders. On entering, too, this chief's deserted kitchen, they found in it several pieces of human flesh, some raw, and others roasted, the latter marked with the teeth that had already been tearing them*. In another house they picked up a part of a shirt with Marion's name on it, together with a variety of other evidences of the horrible tragedy, of which the place in which they now were had doubtless been the witness. They set fire both to this village, and to another at a little distance from it, the proprietor of which they had reason to believe had been a confederate in Tacouri's treachery—a supposition which was confirmed by the fact that its inhabitants had also deemed it prudent to take flight, as well as by the remnants of human flesh, and other traces of the recent barbarity, which they found in different parts of it. Having thus, as it was conceived, satisfied the manes of their lost comrades, the French left New Zealand on the 14th of July, having first, however, taken possession of the country, or at least of the northern isle,

* Voyage de Marion, p. 121.

which M. Marion had named *France Australe*, in the name of their royal master. To the inlet where they had lain (Cook's Bay of Islands), and of which M. Marion is somewhat incorrectly termed the discoverer, they gave the warning designation of *The Bay of Treachery*.

We are left by M. Crozet's narrative altogether in the dark as to any circumstances which could have led to the sudden and horrible catastrophe which we have just related. He asserts indeed repeatedly, that the French had given these islanders no cause of offence whatever during their residence among them; and that up to the fatal day when the cruel assassination of Marion and his companions was perpetrated, nothing could have exceeded the apparent cordiality and harmony in which the two parties lived together. "They treated us," is his expression, "with every show of friendship for thirty-three days, in the intention of eating us the thirty-fourth." Most people, however, will probably be of opinion that conduct apparently implying such transcendent perfidy must be capable of some explanation, if all the facts of the case were known.

The first European vessel that visited New Zealand after the departure of the Mascarin and the Castries, was the Resolution, in which Cook was then making his second voyage round the globe. The great navigator arrived again in sight of New Zealand on the 25th of March, 1773. The day following he entered Dusky Bay, lying in the south-west part of the southern island, immediately to the north of the West Cape; and here he remained till the 11th of May. A few inhabitants were found even in this spot, so remote from the quarters where the principal settlements seemed to be established. On leaving Dusky Bay, Cook proceeded along the coast towards the North, and, turning

into the strait between the two islands, came to an anchor on the 18th, in a harbour, to which he gave the name of Ship Cove, situated in a large inlet called Queen Charlotte's Sound, on the coast of the Southern Island, in which he had lain for about three weeks on his former voyage. Here the Resolution found her consort the Adventure, commanded by Captain Furneaux, from which she had been separated in a storm on the passage from the Cape of Good Hope, more than three months before. The Adventure had reached the bay on the 7th of April, having also entered the Straits from the west. The two ships continued here till the 7th of June, when they set sail in company, and, bearing through the Strait towards the East, proceeded on their voyage to the Society Islands.

On the 21st of October, in the same year, the two English discovery ships again arrived at New Zealand, on their return from the Society Isles. When the ships were a few miles to the north of Cape Turnagain, some of the natives came to them in their canoes, from the shore, bringing a few fish which they exchanged for cloth and nails. "They were so fond of nails," says Cook, "as to seize on all they could find, and with such eagerness, as plainly shewed that they were the most valuable things we could give them." The first words which two of them spoke, who were prevailed upon to come on board, were, *Mataou no ta pow pow* (we are afraid of the guns). These two acquisitions—a knowledge of the value of iron, and a sense of the power of fire-arms—were, perhaps, all they had gained from their four years' intercourse with Europeans. The last they shared with the inferior animal races inhabiting their country. Crozet tells us, that although, on the first arrival of the French, the birds around the Bay of Islands were so entirely without

fear, that they would perch even on the muskets, or stand still at their very muzzles when pointed at them, they afterwards took wing whenever they observed the sportsman approach. They still, however, he adds, suffered the natives to come near them without being at all disturbed *. The French navigator, Bougainville, mentions, in the same way, that when he landed in the Falkland Islands, all the animals came about him and his men, the fowls alighting upon their heads and shoulders.

In continuing their course along the coast towards the south, the two ships were attacked by a violent gale of wind, during which they again parted company. Cook in a day or two regained his old station on the south side of the straits; and here he remained for about three weeks; after which he bore away towards the south-east. Meanwhile the Adventure had been detained on the east coast from the time she lost sight of her consort, and it was the beginning of December before she arrived in Ship Cove, where her consort had been. On going ashore, however, they found the place where Cook's people had erected their tents, and observed cut out on an old stump of a tree in the garden the words, "Look underneath." This enabled them to find Cook's directions for their course, which he had written, and buried in a bottle.

On the 17th they had got every thing ready for setting sail, and intended to weigh anchor next morning, when Captain Furneaux sent off one of the midshipmen, and a boat's crew, to the land, to gather a few wild greens, with orders to return in the evening. As the boat, however, did not make her appearance either that night or the next morning, Captain Furneaux became very uneasy about her, and

* Voyage de Marion, pp. 166, 167.

hoisting out the launch, sent her with his second-lieutenant, Mr. Burney*, manned with a boat's crew and ten marines in search of her. The result was, that another horrible massacre had taken place. The boat's crew had been attacked by the natives, and the whole of the unfortunate men put to death and eaten. The persons who perished in this massacre, ten in number, were the best hands of the ship. Mr. Burney's narrative of this fearful transaction is exceedingly interesting†. The Adventure left New Zealand four days afterwards.

On the 19th of October, 1774, Cook's vessel was again moored at her old anchorage in Ship Cove; and she remained here till the 10th of the following month. None of the natives made their appearance till the 24th, when two canoes were seen, which, however as soon as they perceived the ship, retired behind a point of land. In the course of the day some more of the natives were discovered on shore, and even hallooed to a boat they saw approaching, in which Cook was; but as the boat drew nearer to the land, they all took flight to the woods, except two or three men, who remained stationed on a rising ground with their arms in their hands. "The moment we landed," continues Cook, "they knew us. Joy then took place of fear; and the rest of the natives hurried out of the woods, and embraced us over and over again; leaping and skipping about like madmen." Cook did not succeed during his present visit to New Zealand in ascertaining anything as to the misfortune that had befallen the Adventure, notwithstanding all his inquiries, which were particularly called forth by the mysterious conversation of the natives. Captain Cook paid his fifth and last visit to New Zealand in

* Afterwards Rear-Admiral Burney, the Author of *The Chronological History of Discoveries in the South Sea.*

† Cook's Second Voyage, ii. 255, &c.

the course of his third voyage round the world, having, after leaving Van Diemen's Land, come in sight of Rock's Point on the west coast of the southern island on the 10th of February, 1777. On the morning of the 12th he was at anchor in his old station in Ship Cove, where he had not lain long, before several canoes filled with natives came alongside. Very few of them, however, would at first venture on board; and Cook attributes their shyness, with every probability, to their apprehension that he had come to revenge the massacre of Captain Furneaux's men, with which they must have known that he was now acquainted, as they saw he had brought with him the native of the Society Islands, Omai, who had been on board the Adventure when the melancholy affair happened. But they very soon laid aside their fears on Cook assuring them that he had no hostile intentions; and the English having formed an encampment on shore, a great number of families soon came from different parts of the coast and took up their residence close to them. They were even visited occasionally by a chief named Kahoora, who was stated to have headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and to have himself killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. This personage seemed to be an object of general terror and dislike among his countrymen, many of whom importuned Cook to kill him, and appeared not a little surprised when the English captain declined complying with their request. "But if I had followed," says Cook, "the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet or village, by turns, applied to me to destroy the other."

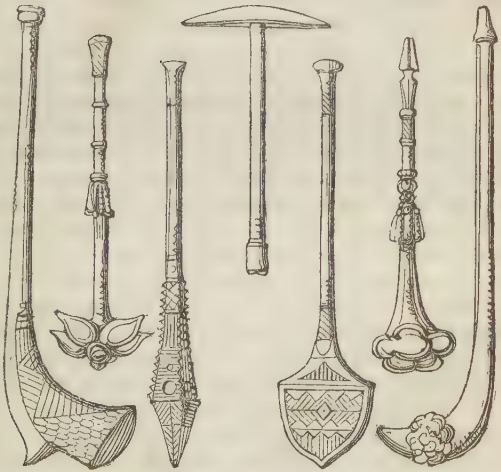
Kahoora himself came afterwards to the ship in a canoe. "This was the third time," says Cook, "he had visited us, without betraying the smallest

appearance of fear. I was ashore when he now arrived, but had got on board just as he was going away. Omai*, who had returned with me, presently pointed him out, and solicited me to shoot him. Not satisfied with this, he addressed himself to Kahoora, threatening to be his executioner if ever he presumed to visit us again. The New Zealander paid so little regard to these threats, that he returned the next morning with his whole family, men, women and children, to the number of twenty and upwards. Omai was the first who acquainted me with his being alongside the ship, and desired to know if he should ask him to come on board. I told him he might; and accordingly he introduced the chief into the cabin, saying, 'There is Kahoora, kill him!' But, as if he had forgot his former threats, or were afraid that I should call upon him to perform them, he immediately retired. In a short time, however, he returned; and seeing the chief unhurt, he expostulated with me very earnestly, saying, 'Why do you not kill him? You tell me if a man kills another in England that he is hanged for it. This man has killed ten, and yet you will not kill him, though many of his countrymen desire it, and it would be very good.' Omai's arguments, though specious enough, having no weight with me, I desired him to ask the chief why he had killed Captain Furneaux's people? At this question Kahoora folded his arms, hung down his head, and looked like one caught in a trap; and I firmly believe he expected instant death. But no sooner was he assured of his safety than he became cheerful. He did not, however, seem willing to give me an answer to the question that had been put to him,

* A notice of this interesting person will be found in a subsequent chapter.

till I had, again and again, repeated my promise that he should not be hurt. Then he ventured to tell us, 'that one of his countrymen, having brought a stone hatchet to barter, the man to whom it was offered took it, and would neither return it nor give anything for it; on which the owner of it snatched up the bread as an equivalent, and then the quarrel began*.'"

* Cook's Third Voyage, i. 134.



New Zealand War Clubs, &c.

Chapter IV.

Intercourse of New Zealanders with Australia.—Hoodo-Cocoty-Towamahowey and Toogee.—Tippahee.—George Bruce.—Moyhanger brought to England.—Destruction of the Boyd.—Matara.—Duaterra.—Recent accounts of New Zealand.

Although New Zealand remained unvisited by the discovery ships of European nations, an intercourse, which gradually became more frequent, had been begun, some years before the close of the last century, between these islands and the English settlement in New South Wales. From this colony, the voyage to the nearest part of the New Zealand coast could be made in about a fortnight, the distance not being greater than twelve hundred miles. In 1793, the government of New South Wales having attempted to form a settlement on Norfolk Island, a small uninhabited island, two or three days' sail to the north-west of New Zealand, which Cook had discovered on his second voyage, it was determined to send a vessel to the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, to bring away one or more of the natives, in order that instructions might be obtained from them as to the mode of dressing the flax of their country, a production which was also found to abound in the new settlement. The Dædalus, accordingly, under the command of Lieutenant Hanson, having appeared on the coast of New Zealand, two of the natives, the one named Hoodo-Cocoty-Towamahowey and the other Toogee, were without much difficulty enticed on board, and immediately carried away to Norfolk Island. Here they were treated with every attention by Captain King, the governor of the settlement,

but it soon appeared, that although they were very ready to give all the information about the flax that they could, they knew very little about the matter. "This operation was found to be among them the peculiar province of the women; and as Hoodo was a warrior, and Toogee a priest, they gave the governor to understand, that dressing of flax never made any part of their studies *." The haughty chiefs must, doubtless, have felt no little surprise on discovering the very strange purpose, as it would appear to them, for which their services had been sought. But, although they knew nothing about spinning, they were able to communicate many details in regard to the geography and political condition of their country; and one of them even drew on the floor of a room, with chalk, a map or chart, of the northern island of New Zealand, which he afterwards transferred to paper, and which was found to bear a great similitude to Captain Cook's delineation. They remained at Norfolk Island for a considerable time, and were then carried back to their native country, in a vessel in which Governor King himself accompanied them. That gentleman, however, had but little intercourse with the people of New Zealand, not having gone on shore during the short time the ship was off the island, which was only eighteen hours in all. But the kindness with which he had treated the two chiefs appears to have been long remembered both by them and their countrymen. When the Fanny, a vessel from Port Jackson, lay at anchor in Doubtless Bay, in December, 1795, several canoes came off to her from the shore; and inquiries having been made by the English after Toogee, the New Zealanders immediately exclaimed in their own tongue, "good Governor King! good Toogee! good

* Collins's History of New South Wales, p. 343.

Hoodo!" Toogee himself afterwards came on board, and informed them that he had still one pig alive, and some peas growing, the produce of presents he had received from Governor King. Toogee was also seen in August, 1819, by the Reverend Mr. Marsden, principal chaplain of New South Wales, in the course of his second visit to New Zealand. Mr. Marsden describes him as an officer under Korrokorro, one of the most powerful chiefs of that district. He inquired very affectionately after Governor King's eldest daughter, who was only a few years old when he was at Norfolk Island; and when told that she now lived at Paramatta, in New South Wales, he said he would go and live with her till he died*.

About the same time that these two chiefs paid their visit to Norfolk Island, many of the English ships engaged in the South Sea whale-fishing began to frequent the coasts of New Zealand in pursuit of fish. They were at first deterred by the notions which were entertained of the ferocious character of the natives; but some of the captains at last ventured to put in to the land, and, having gone on shore, sought an intercourse with the inhabitants. They found them in general, although very observant of the movements of the new comers, far from being disposed to offer hostilities; and after some time, the communication thus commenced became frequent, and of the most friendly description. The government at New South Wales even took advantage of these visits of the whalers, to send the New Zealanders occasional presents of cattle, and whatever else was likely to promote their civilization, or to give them a taste for the conveniences and enjoyments of cultivated life. At last a very powerful chief, of the

* Rev. S. Marsden's Journal of his Second Visit to New Zealand, in Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for 1820-21; p. 291.

name of Tippahee, who resided near the Bay of Islands, expressed a desire to be taken along with his five sons to see Port Jackson; and accordingly, having been conveyed to Norfolk Island, they were, after remaining for some time at that settlement, received on board His Majesty's ship Buffalo, which carried them to New South Wales. During the time he remained, he examined, with the most inquisitive attention, the various novelties that presented themselves to his notice, and evinced particular anxiety to obtain an acquaintance with the different arts and manufactures which he saw carried on by the settlers. "Being taken one day," says Mr. Nicholas*, "to see a rope-walk, and shewn the method of making small twine, some of which was spun before him, and the process explained, he was so affected by the contrast of our enlightened knowledge with the barbarous ignorance of his own countrymen, that he burst into tears, and exclaimed, in the bitterness of his regret, 'New Zealand no good!'" On his departure, this chief carried with him a great many presents from the governor, among which were some seed potatoes, which he had been taught the method of cultivating, and from which he raised considerable crops after his return to his own country. But Cook had long before this left the potatoe both in the northern and southern island. Tippahee also carried out with him the first European, probably, who ever took up his abode in New Zealand, a young man named George Bruce. This person was a native of the neighbourhood of London, who, having been appointed on the voyage to attend Tippahee during an illness with which he was seized, acquitted himself so much to the chief's satisfaction, that he requested the captain to allow the young

* Voyage to New Zealand, i. 12.

man to remain with him when the ship left the country. Bruce soon after married Tippahee's youngest daughter; and, having been tattooed, was himself considered as a chief, and invested with a considerable share in the government of his father-in-law's territories, which were of great extent. The authority which he enjoyed was found for some time of the most beneficial consequence to such English vessels as touched at the island—which were now much more abundantly supplied with provisions than formerly; and he himself lived in great content and happiness. At last a ship named the General Wellesley, commanded by a Captain Dalrymple, having put in at a part of the coast where Bruce and his wife chanced to be, but which was at some distance from Tippahee's residence, Dalrymple induced them both, by the most solemn assurances of bringing them back in safety, to come on board in order to assist him in searching for gold dust, which he expected to discover somewhere about the North Cape. On finding himself, however, disappointed in his object, the English captain declined to return with his two passengers to the Bay of Islands, but, retaining them both on board, proceeded, in spite of all their remonstrances, on his voyage to India. Having arrived at Malacca, he contrived to leave Bruce on shore there, and carried off his wife to Penang, where, upon Bruce following her by the first opportunity, he found her in the possession of a Captain Ross, to whom Dalrymple had sold her. Through the interference of the governor she was restored to her husband; and, after several other vexatious delays and disappointments, the two were at last brought, by Sir Edward Pellew, to Calcutta, whence it was expected they would find a passage to New South Wales, and from thence to New Zealand. We do not know whether they ever succeeded in re-

gaining their country, this account of them being taken from a statement in a Calcutta journal, as copied in "Turnbull's Voyage round the World," and which was written while they were still in Bengal.

English vessels still continued to touch occasionally at different parts of the coast; and in 1807, Mr. Savage published a short account of the country in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, which he had visited two years before. This gentleman brought also one of the natives, named Moyhanger, with him to London—the first New Zealander, as far as we know, who had ever been in England. Moyhanger's first introduction to civilized life was at St. Helena, where he was very much astonished, in particular, by the quantity of anchors, ordnance, and other articles made of iron, which he saw upon going on shore. But the forest of shipping which met his view on arriving in the Thames surprised him beyond all he had yet witnessed. It was almost with a feeling of dejection that he first beheld the magnitude, bustle, and apparent wealth of London. He remarked that "in New Zealand he was a man of some consequence, but that in such a country as he was now in, his consideration must be entirely lost." "We landed," says Mr. Savage, "at the easternmost part of the town, and had some distance to walk before we could procure a hackney coach: he had during this perambulation something to admire in everything he saw. The shops with immense stores of ironmongery excited much of his attention; as we passed houses where these articles were presented for sale, he always observed to me,—'Very good country, plenty of iron!' Commodities of real utility uniformly claimed his first consideration. The shops that exhibited articles of dress and ornamental finery excited his laughter; while those that displayed substantial clothing appeared to give him

real satisfaction. Whenever he passed one he observed to me,—'This is very good, there is plenty of clothing.' The coach gave him great satisfaction: when the horses first started off, the motion seemed to alarm him a little; but with me he soon gained confidence. He looked out on each side, then in front, then appeared thoughtful. I asked him how he liked our present situation; he replied,—'Very good house, it walks very fast!'" While in London he was taken to visit Lord Fitzwilliam. The ornamental parts of the furniture in his lordship's house "did not," says Mr. Savage, "make such an impression upon him as might be imagined. Of the mirrors and other splendid ornaments, he merely observed, 'They are very fine;' and while I thought he was admiring the more striking objects, I found he was counting the chairs. He had procured a small piece of stick, which he had broken into a number of pieces to assist his recollection. He observed,—'A great number of men sit with the chief *.'" The vast dimensions of St. Paul's appeared to astonish him a good deal, and he was much delighted with the monuments; but he excited so much curiosity in the streets, that Mr. Savage found it inconvenient to take him to see many of the wonders of the metropolis. It was a great mystery to him at first how such an immense population could be fed, as he perceived neither cattle nor crops; but the droves of oxen and waggon-loads of vegetables he afterwards saw coming in from the country satisfied him upon this head †.

Moyhanger carried out with him to New Zealand a great many carpenter's and cooper's tools, with the use of which he was tolerably well acquainted. Mr. Marsden met him in his native country in 1819,

* Savage's Account of New Zealand, p. 100.
† Id. pp. 94—110.

when he made anxious inquiries after the queen, and other branches of the royal family. "He gave the surrounding chiefs," adds Mr. Marsden, "a particular account of what he had seen in England; mentioned London Bridge, and the water-works there; and told them how the water was conveyed by pipes into the different houses in the city; and many other particulars relative to our mode of living, houses, carriages, shipping, churches, roads, and agriculture *." A few years before this (in 1815), Mr. Nicholas had also met with Moyhanger when he was in New Zealand, and had some conversation with him. When told that his friend Mr. Savage was gone to India, "he received the information," says Mr. Nicholas, "with seeming indifference, not appearing in the least interested about him. His ideas seemed to be wholly occupied in thinking what he might ask for: we gave him some nails, but these did not content him, he wanted others of a larger size; and, taking a particular liking to a cat that we had on board, we indulged his humour by making him a present of it †." He invited them with much urgency to go on shore, and promised to procure for them from his chief whatever provisions they required. On being asked if he would like to revisit England, he replied that he had no wish to leave his country again. According to Mr. Nicholas's account, which appears, however, to be inconsistent with that of Mr. Savage, Moyhanger was only a slave. Of the valuable articles which he brought back with him to his native land, Mr. Nicholas thinks it probable that he was soon plundered by his superiors. No European articles at least were observed in his possession. He had some time

* Mr. Marsden's Journal of his Second Visit, p. 330.

† Nicholas's Voyage to New Zealand, vol. i. p. 429.

before stolen an axe from an English vessel that had put into the Bay of Islands; and the theft having been detected, he had received a severe flogging from his chief, and been banished from the district, never to return to it on pain of death. Since then he had taken up his residence with the chief of Bream Bay.

When Captain Dillon was at the Bay of Islands, in 1827, he met with Moyhanger, who, according to him, is a chief of considerable importance. On this occasion Moyhanger, who had now taken the name of King Charley, inquired with much apparent interest after Mr. Savage, and even embarked on board Captain Dillon's ship with the intention of proceeding to India to see that gentleman; but, after making the voyage to Manicolo* and home again, his resolution failed him, and he chose to remain in his own country. It is very evident, however, that Moyhanger's anxiety to revisit his old friend was merely inspired by the expectation of obtaining some more presents from him. He expressed his regret to Captain Dillon, with tears in his eyes, that, when he was introduced to the king in London, he had not asked for guns from him instead of iron tools and nails, as he was sure, he said, that he might have got a hundred stand of arms by merely stating that he wanted them. Moyhanger appears to have had even a less scrupulous adherence to truth than travellers in general have the character of possessing; for, in reciting his foreign adventures to his wondering countrymen, he was in the habit of giving them an account of India as one of the countries which he had visited on his way home, although he certainly never was there. He told Captain Dillon that he danced his national war-

* An island in the New Hebrides group, where the remains o La Pérouse's ships were found.

dance to the King and Queen of England, at which her majesty was much frightened, but the king laughed. He was much surprised to have found King George a feeble old man, instead of a vigorous warrior, as he had expected.

The year 1809 is memorable, in the annals of our intercourse with New Zealand, for the most calamitous catastrophe which is known to have ever resulted from the ferocity of the natives to Europeans visiting their coasts. In the latter part of this year, the ship Boyd, of 500 tons burden, left Port Jackson for England, with seventy persons on board, besides four or five New Zealanders, whom she was to convey to their own country, it being the intention of her commander, Captain Thompson, to call at New Zealand on his way, to make up his cargo by taking in some spars for the Cape of Good Hope. Among the New Zealanders whom he had with him, and who were to have their passage for assisting to work the ship, was a son of one of the chiefs, who had served before this on board different English vessels trading between his native country and New South Wales, and who was generally known by the name of George among the sailors, although his proper name was Tarra. His tribe resided in the neighbourhood of a bay called by the natives Wangarooa, situated on the same coast with the Bay of Islands, but about fifty miles to the north of it. It appears that during the passage George had refused to work with the other sailors, under the double plea that as the son of a chief he ought not to be subjected to such a degradation, and that, even were he willing to submit to work, he was in such ill health as to be unable to do so. His representations upon both these heads, however, were treated with contempt by the captain, who not only laughed at his claims to

the dignity of chieftainship, but had him twice tied up to the gangway, and flogged with great severity, while he was also deprived at the same time of his usual allowance of food. The crafty savage felt his injuries, but he felt too that this was not the time for him to resent them; and he merely remarked significantly, in reply to the captain's taunting affirmation that he was no chief, that they would find him to be such on their arrival in his country. It would even seem that he had contrived by his show of good-humour during the remainder of the passage to regain entirely the confidence of the captain, who, on their nearing the coast, allowed himself to be persuaded by his insidious advice to put in to Wangarooa, as the best place for procuring the timber, although it was not known that the harbour had ever before been visited by any European vessel.

George had them now in his own power, and he lost no time in making preparations for his already well-devised revenge. Having gone on shore, he detailed his injuries to his tribe; and it was resolved that they should be fearfully requited. The captain was first persuaded to land with a part of his crew, under the pretence that they could not so easily find for him such trees as he wanted, unless he would go along with them to point them out. When they had got him and his party into the wood, having watched their opportunity, they suddenly fell upon the unsuspecting men, and before they could make any resistance, every one of them was murdered. Elated with their achievement, the infuriated savages next proceeded to the ship. It was now dusk, and as they came alongside in the ship's boats, dressed in the clothes of their victims, they were hailed by the second officer, who, in reply, was informed by them that the captain, meaning to remain on shore all night, had ordered them to take on

board the spars that were already cut down. On this, a number of them immediately ascended the ship's side, and before any alarm could be given, knocked the officer down, and beat out his brains, treating in like manner all the seamen of the watch. Some of them then going down to the cabin-door, asked those within to come upon deck to see the spars; on which a female passenger, having stepped out to go up, was killed on the cabin ladder. From this moment, all was wild and indiscriminate slaughter; every man, woman, and child that could be found on board was massacred, with the exception of four or five seamen, who had succeeded in escaping up the shrouds, and who were still in the rigging when night closed upon the desolate and bloody deck.

Here these unhappy men remained till morning, when Tippahee, the chief whose visit to Port Jackson we have already mentioned, appeared alongside in his canoe; and assuring them of his protection, and of his detestation of the horrible atrocity of which his countrymen had been guilty, invited them to descend and come with him. It appears that Tippahee had come accidentally at this time to Wangarooa from the Bay of Islands to trade for dried fish, as his tribe are still in the habit of doing. The men came down from the rigging at his invitation, and having got into his canoe, were safely landed by him at the nearest point, although closely pursued by th Wangarooans. But here Tippahee's power to protect them ended: their savage pursuers, leaping on shore, ran after and soon overtook them all, and, while the old man was forcibly held, and prevented from interfering, murdered them before his face.

The only individuals who were saved from this cruel slaughter were a woman, two children, and the cabin-boy. The boy had gained George's regard on the passage, by treating him with more kindness

than the other sailors; and, trusting to this, had run up to him in the midst of the slaughter and implored his protection, when the grateful chief, immediately exclaiming, "No, my boy, I won't kill you—you are a good boy," took him under his own care. The two children, with the woman, who was the mother of one of them, had remained concealed till the fury of the barbarians was somewhat satiated; and the woman is said to have then moved the pity of an old man who discovered her, by her tears and entreaties.

The ship was immediately plundered by the savages of every article of value it contained, although the iron-work and fire-arms were the portions of the spoil that principally attracted their cupidity. George's father was so anxious to commence firing the muskets of which he had got possession, that he had a cask of gunpowder brought up between decks, and, having driven in the head of it, snapped a musket over it, when a spark lighting among the powder produced an explosion that blew the upper works of the vessel into the air, and deprived him and all the other New Zealanders then on board of their lives.

The four individuals who had not been put to death were indebted for their final preservation to the intrepid humanity of Mr. Berry, supercargo on board the ship City of Edinburgh. This gentleman, happening to hear of the melancholy tragedy soon after its perpetration, while he was employed in taking in a cargo of spars at the Bay of Islands, immediately set out, at the great risk of his own life, to ascertain if any persons belonging to the unfortunate vessel yet survived, and, should any be found, to rescue them, if possible, from the hands of the savages. He conducted his heroic enterprise with admirable presence of mind, dexterity, and decision, and obtained possession of all the four who yet remained unsacrificed. The last he recovered was a little girl of

two or three years of age, the daughter of a Mr. Broughton, of Port Jackson, whose mother perished. This child was found to be in the possession of one of the chiefs, and although promised, was not brought to him till after a considerable delay. "This delay," says Mr. Berry, "I afterwards had reason to believe proceeded from the endeavours of the natives to deliver it up in as decent a manner as possible. It was tolerably clean, with its hair dressed and ornamented with white feathers, in the fashion of New Zealand. Its only clothing, however, consisted of a linen shirt, which, from the marks upon it, had belonged to the captain. The poor child was greatly emaciated, and its skin was excoriated all over. When brought to the boat, it cried out in a feeble and complaining tone, 'Mamma, my mamma!'" This child was carried to Lima in the City of Edinburgh ship; and it was not till more than two years after leaving New Zealand that she was restored to her father in New South Wales. Although of so tender an age when the destruction of the Boyd took place, she was found, while in South America, to recollect well the dreadful scenes of which she had been witness. "I have more than once been present," says Mr. Berry, "when the cruel but interesting question was put to her, if she recollected what the Zealanders did to her mamma? Her countenance, on such occasions, assumed the appearance of the deepest melancholy; and, without uttering a word, she used to draw her hand across her throat. On further questions, she would say, with every appearance of the most painful feeling, that they afterwards cut her up, and cooked and ate her like victuals *." This statement is quite in accordance with the accounts which

* See Mr. Berry's interesting narrative in the fourth Volume of Constable's Miscellany, pp. 350, 351.

the natives themselves give of the horrid festivities that followed the massacre.

When Captain Cruise was in New Zealand in 1820, he heard a good deal of George, and met with him several times. He describes the treachery of his character as being held in such detestation even by his own countrymen, that they seemed to have little or no intercourse with him. It did not appear, however, that he himself felt any remorse for his share in the transaction we have just related. "Though George," says Captain Cruise, "had at first denied being present at, or accessary to, the massacre of the crew of the Boyd, yet when he became more confident that we had no intention to injure him, he not only acknowledged the leading part he had taken in that atrocity, but more than once told the horrid story with all that gesture for which, when worked into a passion, he was so remarkable. He mentioned particularly the circumstance of one of the sailors, who, in hopes of finding a protector in an old acquaintance, ran to him, and, seizing his mat, cried out, 'My God, my God!' when he instantly, with a single blow of his mearée, laid the unfortunate suppliant dead at his feet. When passing by the wreck of the Boyd, with some of the officers of the Dromedary, he pointed at it, and remarked to them, in his broken English, 'That's my ship;' 'she is very sorry;' 'she is crying.' But in no instance did he express any compunction for the horrible crime of which he had been guilty*."

But we have not yet related all the unfortunate consequences of the affront offered to this haughty barbarian. Poor Tippahee's accidental presence at the scene of the massacre, and his generous attempt to save the men who had taken refuge in the rigging,

* Cruise's Journal, pp. 271, 272.

brought upon him the heaviest calamities, and from a quarter whence he had the least of all any reason to expect such a reward. A short time after the destruction of the Boyd, four or five whale-fishing vessels having put in to the Bay of Islands, the captains were informed by some enemies of Tippahee, that this chief was the head and instigator of the recent massacre. The circumstance of its being undeniable that he was at least present on the occasion, gave considerable plausibility to the story; while it was still further aided in assuming the semblance of truth by the similarity between the sound of Tippahee's name and that of Tippouie, the brother of George, and who was really one of the principal actors in the tragedy. Thus deceived, the commanders of these vessels united their forces, and, attacking the island where Tippahee resided, slaughtered the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, and burned, or otherwise destroyed, whatever stood or grew on the soil. Many hundreds, it is said, of the innocent people perished in this indiscriminate havoc; and Tippahee himself was severely wounded, and with difficulty made his escape with his life. Even this he lost some time after in an encounter with the Wangarooans, which is said to have also originated in the deplorable events that have just been detailed*.

The catastrophe of the Boyd at Wangarooa, although it did not deter vessels from continuing to resort to other parts of the coast of New Zealand, re-

* The account we have given of the destruction of the Boyd, with the exception of its containing some additional particulars from other sources, corresponds with that which first appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* of 1st September, 1810, and which has been reprinted by Captain Cruise. It was derived originally from the report of a native of Otaheite, who was on the spot at the time.

awakened to such a degree the old alarms as to the ferocious disposition of the natives, which had of late been beginning to give way to a correct appreciation of the better parts of their character, that whatever views had been entertained in any quarter of facilitating their intercourse with the civilized world, or of otherwise promoting their improvement, were aban doned, or for the present at least suspended. In particular, a scheme which had suggested itself to the Church Missionary Society, of establishing a small settlement at the Bay of Islands, both for the diffusion of Christianity among the inhabitants, and for instructing them in the useful arts, was left unprosecuted till a more fitting season, although the persons who were to compose the mission had already left England and arrived in New South Wales. The natives, however, still continued to find their way occasionally both to Port Jackson and to this country. Tippahee had previously paid a second visit to the English colony in 1808, and had remained there for several months. The year before, his son Matara was for some time in London, where he had been treated with great attention, and introduced to the Royal Family. Matara returned to New Zealand in the City of Edinburgh, and arrived in his native country only a few months before the attack upon the Boyd. " He spoke English tolerably," says Mr. Berry, " dressed and behaved like a gentleman, and, of course, lived in the cabin. He spent, however, the greatest part of the day in company with a countryman of his own, who was employed as a sailor on board, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to regain a knowledge of his national songs and dances. His first appearance at New Zealand in the uniform of a naval officer not only gratified his own vanity, but excited the greatest applause from his countrymen. In a few days, however, he resumed his na

tional costume, and with it his national habits; but having been accustomed to delicate treatment for a length of time, his constitution proved unequal to resist the mode of living in use amongst his countrymen. He became affected with a hoarseness which gradually settled on his lungs, and in a few months brought him to his grave*." Matara's death, which took place a very short time before the catastrophe of the Boyd, deeply affected his father; and when the old chief was last seen by Mr. Berry, his appearance was much altered.

But the most interesting New Zealander who distinguished himself about this time by his endeavours to obtain an acquaintance with the arts and manners of civilized life, was Duaterra, also a relation of Tippahee, and himself a chief of considerable power. Duaterra, when only about eighteen, had, in the year 1805, shipped himself on board the Argo whaler, which was leaving the Bay of Islands for Port Jackson, agreeing, in order that he might gratify his desire of visiting the English settlement, to serve during the voyage as a common sailor. He was accordingly attached to one of the whale-boats, in which he did duty for twelve months while the vessel was cruising on the coasts of New Zealand and New Holland, and was at last discharged while she lay in Sydney Cove, having received no wages all the time. He then entered on board another whaler, the Albion, in which he served for six months before he got back to the Bay of Islands. Captain Richardson, who commanded this vessel, was very kind to him, and paid him wages like the other sailors. After remaining six months at home, Duaterra, not yet satisfied with what he had seen of a sea-life or of foreign lands, next

* Mr. Berry's Narrative, p. 333.

embarked on board the Santa Anna, then bound on a voyage to Bounty Island for a cargo of seal-skins. When they arrived at Bounty Island, Duaterra and thirteen others of the crew were put on shore to kill seals, while the vessel proceeded for supplies to Norfolk Island and New Zealand, leaving the fourteen men with very little water, salt provisions, or bread. It was five months before she returned, and during the greater part of this time Duaterra and his companions, there being no water and scarcely any food to be procured on the island, had undergone such extreme sufferings from thirst and hunger, that three of them had died. They had, however, procured about eight thousand skins; after taking which on board, the vessel set out on her voyage for England, the great object for the sake of which Duaterra had first gone on board of her. He had, it seems, long entertained the most ardent desire to see King George, and, sustained by the hope of this gratification, he had patiently borne all the hardships we have detailed. But when the Santa Anna at last arrived in the river Thames, which she did in July 1809, poor Duaterra soon found he was as far from his object as ever. Instead of succeeding in obtaining a sight of the king, he was scarcely permitted to go on shore, and never spent a night out of the ship. When he made inquiries as to how he could see the king, he was told sometimes that he would never be able to find the house, and at other times that nobody was permitted to see his majesty. This disappointment distressed him so much, that, together with the toils and privations he had already sustained, it brought on a dangerous illness. Meanwhile the master of the Santa Anna, when he asked him for some wages and clothing, had peremptorily refused to give him any, telling him, that he should send him home by the Ann, a vessel which had

been taken up by government to convey convicts to New South Wales. But when he brought him to Mr. Clark, the master of this vessel, that gentleman refused to receive him unless the master of the Santa Anna would supply him with a suit of slops. It happened that the Rev. Mr. Marsden, from whose account* these details are taken, was then in London, and about to proceed to New South Wales by the Ann, which he joined at Spithead. "When I embarked," says Mr. Marsden, "Duaterra was confined below by sickness, so that I did not see him, or know he was there for some time. On my first observing him, he was on the forecastle, wrapped up in an old great coat, very sick and weak, had a very violent cough, and discharged considerable quantities of blood from his mouth. His mind was very much dejected, and he appeared as if a few days would terminate his existence. I inquired of the master where he had met with him, and also of Duaterra what had brought him to England, and how he came to be so wretched and miserable. He told me the hardships and wrongs he had experienced on board the Santa Anna were exceedingly great, and that the English sailors had beaten him very much, which was the cause of his spitting blood; that the master had defrauded him of all his wages, and prevented his seeing the king." The kindness he now experienced, however, gradually restored him to health; and by the time the vessel arrived at Rio de Janeiro, he was able to do his duty as a common sailor, in which capacity he was considered equal to most of the men on board. He arrived at Port Jackson in February, 1810, and resided with Mr. Marsden till the November following, during

* Printed in vol. v. of the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, and also at the end of vol. ii. of Nicholas's Voyage to New Zealand.

which time he applied himself diligently to acquire a knowledge of agriculture. He then embarked on board the Frederick, along with three of his countrymen, one of whom was a son of Tippahee, and of course his near relation, in order to return to New Zealand. They were all, having been a good deal at sea, to serve on board the ship while it remained on the coast of that country, and in return for this to be landed at the Bay of Islands on its departure. But after detaining them on board for six months, the captain had the cruelty, notwithstanding their entreaties and remonstrances, and although the vessel was actually at the mouth of the Bay of Islands, to bear away with them to Norfolk Island, where he first made the four New Zealanders go on shore to get water, in which attempt they were all nearly drowned in the surf, and then, when he had no further occasion for their services, left them on the island. He soon after, however, returned and took away Tippahee's son by force, although he earnestly entreated to be left with his companions. That young man was never afterwards heard of, the Frederick having been taken on her passage to England by an American, after an action in which the master was mortally wounded.

A short time after the Frederick left Norfolk Island, the Ann whaler, commanded by Mr. Gwynn, having touched there on her way to Port Jackson, found Duaterra and his companions in a very distressed state, and almost naked. In this vessel Duaterra, having been kindly supplied with clothing by the captain, obtained a passage to Port Jackson, and was very happy when he found himself once more with his old friend Mr. Marsden. But he had now been absent about three years from his wife and family, to whom he was much attached; and he was very anxious to get back to New Zealand. An-

other whaler, named also the Ann, having arrived from England, and being about to proceed to that country, he embarked on board of her, under the usual stipulation that he should be set on shore after helping to work the ship during the time she was taking in her cargo on the coast. He had been provided with a quantity of seed wheat, and various agricultural tools, when he set out on his former voyage in the Frederick, but had been plundered of every thing while on board. He now, however, received a fresh supply of seed and implements. The Ann was five months in making up her cargo, during all which time Duaterra remained on board; but at last, he was landed once more on his native soil, to the inexpressible joy not less of himself than of his friends, who had probably before this given up all expectation of ever seeing him again.

This narrative affords, it is to be apprehended, only too fair a sample of the treatment which the New Zealanders received from the captains and crews of many of the vessels frequenting their coasts. On the other hand, these savages, as might have been expected, lost no opportunity of retaliating. Shortly after the devastation of Tippahee's island, as above related, in consequence of the share that chief was supposed to have had in cutting off the Boyd, three seamen, belonging to a whaler named the New Zealander, were murdered and eaten by the enraged natives. But at last, in the course of the year 1814, the persons who had several years before been sent out by the Church Missionary Society, and who had since remained at Port Jackson, determined upon proceeding to New Zealand; when one of them was appointed by Governor Macquarie to act as a magistrate in that country, and a proclamation was at the same time issued, announcing to masters of ships the determination of the colonial go-

vernment to punish, with the utmost severity, all outrages committed on the persons or property of the inhabitants. A good deal of information with regard to the country in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands has since been laid before the public, in the annual reports respecting this mission, as well as in those relating to another subsequently established by the Wesleyan Methodists. The extracts that have been printed from the Journals of the Rev. Mr. Marsden, especially, who has made five visits to this part of New Zealand since 1814, abound in the most interesting and valuable details. Mr. Marsden was accompanied on his first visit by Mr. Nicholas, who has also published a very full narrative of his voyage. His work forms upon the whole the most complete account of this part of New Zealand that has appeared. Along with it may be mentioned, as containing also much information with regard to the same vicinity, the more recent publication of Captain Cruise, who was in New Zealand for ten months in the year 1820, when Mr. Marsden was also there on his third visit.

The latest visits to New Zealand, of which any accounts have been given to the public, are the two made by Captain Dillon in the course of his recent expedition in quest of the relics of the unfortunate La Pérouse. Captain Dillon, who had frequently been at New Zealand before, arrived in the Bay of Islands, on his way to Manicolo, on the 1st of July, 1827, and remained there till nearly the end of that month. He also put in at the same place for a few days on his voyage homeward. On the first of these occasions, in particular, he had a good deal of intercourse with the natives; and he has given us an amusing account of some of his savage acquaintances. On his return some months afterwards he found that Captain Dumont d'Urville, commanding the French

sloop of war L'Astrolabe, which was in pursuit of the same object with himself, had in the meantime also visited the Bay, and had afterwards proceeded to the river Thames. It was understood that Captain d'Urville had made a very accurate survey of the portion of the coast which he had navigated.

All these more recent accounts, however, taken together, add little or nothing to our previous knowledge of by far the greater portion even of the northern island of New Zealand. Mr. Savage appears to have seen merely one or two of the villages on the shore of the Bay of Islands. Mr. Marsden, on his first visit, in which he was accompanied by Mr. Nicholas, landed at the North Cape, and on one of the islands called the Cavalles, to the north of the Bay of Islands, and afterwards proceeded along the east coast as far south as the mouth of the Thames, which Cook had also entered on his first voyage. Mr. Nicholas's work contains likewise a description of the harbour of Wangarooa*; but neither he nor Mr. Marsden, on this occasion, advanced beyond a very few miles into the interior of the island. Mr. Marsden, however, in his second visit, walked all the way across the country, from the Bay of Islands to the west coast, where he found a large river emptying itself into the sea, about the 36th parallel of latitude, or nearly opposite to Cook's Bream Bay. This river is called by the natives Shukehanga, but Mr. Marsden gave it the name of the Gambier. Although flowing through a part of the country immediately behind what Cook has called the Desert Coast, its banks were found to be crowded with populous villages, the inhabitants of which were

* This harbour was also described in Mr. Berry's letter to the owner of the Boyd, dated Lima, 20th October, 1810, and since published, as already mentioned, in the 4th volume of Constable's Miscellany. See p. 326.

both of fairer complexion, and seemingly of much milder disposition, than their countrymen on the east side of the island. Mr. Marsden, in the course of his second visit, also penetrated about twenty miles into the interior, to a place called Tiami, in a direction to the east of that which he had taken to get to the Shukehanga. It was during his third visit, however, that Mr. Marsden explored the greatest part both of the coast, and of the inland districts of the country; but, unfortunately, the journal he kept of his travels on this occasion has only been published in a very imperfect form. It appears that after accompanying Captain Cruise in the Dromedary, on a voyage from the Bay of Islands, round by the northern extremity of the country, to the mouth of the Shukehanga, and afterwards from the same point, down the east coast as far as the Thames, he proceeded to explore by himself the different bays and creeks on the eastern side of that river; after which he set out across the country, to visit a settlement called Kiperro, on the west coast, a considerable distance to the south-east of the Shukehanga. This place, indeed, he visited three times during his stay in the country; and on two occasions, made his way from it directly across the island to the missionary station, availing himself of a navigable river, called the Wyeroa, which flows from the north, for about thirty miles, in a line parallel to the coast. Mr. Cruise, as we have just mentioned, sailed along the coast in one direction to the mouth of the Shukehanga, and in another to that of the Thames. He describes the Shukehanga, although having a bar across its entrance, as perfectly safe for vessels drawing fifteen feet water (or probably more), and as navigable for ten miles up. The harbour, he adds, is well sheltered and commodious. Mr. Marsden acquired no further knowledge of the geography of the country, during his fourth

and fifth visits, which were confined merely to the Bay of Islands. The only portion of New Zealand, therefore, of which any account is to be found in the works we have mentioned, is merely the narrow pendant of land extending northward from the mouth of the river Thames, or about the 37th degree of latitude, being hardly so much as a third part of the northern island.

Costume of the New Zealanders.

Chapter V.

John Rutherford.—Attack on the Agnes.—Massacre of part of the Crew.—Cannibalism of the New Zealanders.

An Englishman, named John Rutherford, has recently returned from New Zealand, after a residence of several years in a part of the northern island considerably beyond the furthest limit known to have been reached by any European who has yet penetrated into the interior of the country. Rutherford returned to his native land, from his long exile, in the early part of the year 1828, bringing with him an account of the adventures he had met with in different parts of the world, and especially during his detention among the savages of New Zealand, which he had dictated to a friend (for he could not write himself) on his voyage home. We mean, in the course of the pages that follow, to lay the substance of it before our readers. Making allowance for some grammatical solecisms, the story is told throughout with great clearness, and sometimes with considerable spirit.

Rutherford, according to his own account, was born at Manchester about the year 1796. He went to sea, he states, when he was hardly more than ten years of age, having up to that time been employed as a piecer in a cotton factory in his native town; and after this he appears to have been but little in England, or even on shore, for many years. He served for a considerable time on board a man of war off the coast of Brazil; and was afterwards at the storming of San Sebastian, in August, 1813. On

Portrait of John Rutherford—from an original drawing taken in 1828.

coming home from Spain, he entered himself on board another king's ship, bound for Madras, in which he afterwards proceeded to China by the east passage, and lay for about a year at Macao. In the course of this voyage his ship touched at several islands in the great Indian Archipelago—among others at the Bashee Islands, which have been but rarely visited. On his return from the east he embarked on board a convict vessel bound for New South Wales; and afterwards made two trading voyages among the islands of the South Sea. It was in the course of the former of these that he first saw New Zealand, the vessel having touched at the Bay of Islands, on her way home to Port Jackson. His second trading voyage in those seas was made in the Magnet, a three-masted schooner, commanded by Captain Vine; but this vessel having put in at Owhyhee, Rutherford fell sick and was left on that island. Having recovered, however, in about a fortnight, he was taken on board the Agnes, an American brig of six guns and fourteen men, commanded by a Captain Coffin, which was then engaged in trading for pearl and tortoiseshell among the islands of the Pacific. This vessel, after having touched at various other places, on her return from Owhyhee, approached the east coast of New Zealand, intending to put in for refreshments at the Bay of Islands*. They first came in sight of the Barrier Islands, which lie opposite to the entrance of the river Thames, and consequently some distance to the south of the port for which they were making. They accordingly directed their course to the north; but they had not got far on their way, when it began to blow a gale from the north-east, which, being aided by a current, not only made it impossible

* Rutherford states in his journal that this event, which was to him of such importance, occurred on the 6th of March, 1816.

for them to proceed to the Bay of Islands, but even carried them past the mouth of the Thames. It lasted for five days, and when it abated they found themselves some distance to the south of a high point of land, which, from Rutherford's description, there can be no doubt must have been that to which Captain Cook gave the name of Cape East. Rutherford calls it sometimes the East, and sometimes the South-East Cape, and describes it as the highest part of the coast. It lies nearly in latitude 37° 42′ S.

The land directly opposite to them was indented by a large bay. This the Captain was very unwilling to enter, believing that no ship had ever anchored in it before. We have little doubt, however, that this was the very bay into which Cook first put, on his arrival on the coasts of New Zealand, in the beginning of October, 1769. He called it Poverty Bay, and found it to lie in latitude 38° 42′ S. The bay in which Rutherford now was, must have been at least very near this part of the coast; and his description answers exactly to that which Cook gives us of Poverty Bay. "It was," says Rutherford, "in the form of a half-moon, with a sandy beach round it, and at its head a fresh-water river, having a bar across its mouth, which makes it only navigable for boats." He mentions also the height of the land which forms its sides. All these particulars are noticed by Cook. Even the name given to it by the natives, as reported by the one, is not so entirely unlike that stated by the other, as to make it quite improbable that the two are merely the same word differently misrepresented. Cook writes it Taoneroa, and Rutherford Takomardo. The slightest examination of the vocabularies of barbarous tongues, which have been collected by voyagers and travellers, will convince every one of the extremely imperfect manner in which the ear catches sounds to which it

is unaccustomed, and of the mistakes to which this and other causes give rise, in every attempt which is made to take down the words of a language from the native pronunciation, by a person who does not understand it*.

Reluctant as the captain was to enter this bay, from his ignorance of the coast, and the doubts he consequently felt as to the disposition of the inhabitants, they at last determined to stand in for it, as they had great need of water, and did not know when the wind might permit them to get to the Bay of Islands. They came to anchor, accordingly, off the termination of a reef of rocks, immediately under some elevated land, which formed one of the sides of the bay. As soon as they had dropped anchor, a great many canoes came off to the ship from every part of the bay, each containing about thirty women, by whom it was paddled. Very few men made their appearance that day; but many of the women remained on board all night, employing themselves chiefly in stealing whatever they could lay their hands on: their conduct greatly alarmed the captain, and a strict watch was kept during the night. The next morning one of the chiefs came on board, whose name they were told was Aimy, in a large war-canoe, about sixty feet long, and carrying above a hundred of the natives, all provided with quantities of mats and fishing-lines, made of the strong white flax of the country, with which they professed to be anxious to trade with the crew. After this chief had been for some time on board, it was agreed that he should return to the land, with some others of his tribe, in the ship's boat, to procure a supply of water. This arrangement the captain was very

* The reader will find some striking remarks upon this subject, illustrated by examples, in Mr. Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii., p. 120.

anxious to make, as he was averse to allow any of the crew to go on shore, wishing to keep them all on board for the protection of the ship. In due time the boat returned, laden with water, which was immediately hoisted on board; and the chief and his men were despatched a second time on the same errand. Meanwhile, the rest of the natives continued to bring pigs to the ship in considerable numbers; and by the close of the day about two hundred had been purchased, together with a quantity of fern-root to feed them on. Up to this time, therefore, no hostile disposition had been manifested by the savages; and their intercourse with the ship had been carried on with every appearance of friendship and cordiality, if we except the propensity they had shewn to pilfer a few of the tempting rarities exhibited to them by their civilized visiters. Their conduct as to this matter ought perhaps to be taken rather as an evidence that they had not as yet formed any design of attacking the vessel, as they would, in that case, scarcely have taken the trouble of stealing a small part of what they meant immediately to seize upon altogether. On the other hand, such an infraction of the rules of hospitality would not have accorded with that system of insidious kindness by which, as we have already seen, it is their practice to lull the suspicions of those whom they are on the watch to destroy.

During the night, however, the thieving was renewed, and carried to a more alarming extent, inasmuch as it was found in the morning that some of the natives had not only stolen the lead off the ship's stern, but had also cut away many of the ropes, and carried them off in their canoes. It was not till daybreak, too, that the chief returned with his second cargo of water; and it was then observed that the ship's boat he had taken with him leaked a great

deal; on which the carpenter examined her, and found that a great many of the nails had been drawn out of her planks. About the same time, Rutherford detected one of the natives in the act of stealing the dipson lead,—"which when I took from him," says he, "he grinded his teeth, and shook his tomahawk at me." "The captain," he continues*, "now paid the chief for fetching the water, giving him two muskets, and a quantity of powder and shot—arms and ammunition being the only articles these people will trade for. There were at this time about three hundred of the natives on the deck, with Aimy, the chief, in the midst of them; every man armed with a green stone, slung with a string around his waist. This weapon they call a 'mery'; the stone being about a foot long, flat, and of an oblong shape, having both edges sharp, and a handle at the end: they use it for the purpose of killing their enemies, by striking them on the head. Smoke was now observed rising from several of the hills; and the natives appearing to be mustering on the beach from every part of the bay, the captain grew much afraid, and desired us to loosen the sails, and make haste down to get our dinners, as he intended to put to sea immediately. As soon as we had dined, we went aloft, and I proceeded to loosen the jib. At this time, none of the crew were on deck except the captain and the cook, the chief mate being employed in loading some pistols at the cabin table. The natives seized this opportunity of commencing an attack upon the ship. First, the chief threw off the mat which he wore as a cloak, and, brandishing a tomahawk in his hand, began a war-song, when all the rest immediately threw off their mats likewise, and, being entirely

* In giving our extracts from Rutherford's Journal, we shall adhere as nearly as possible to his own words, only correcting errors in grammar and punctuation.

naked, began to dance with such violence, that I thought they would have stove in the ship's deck. The captain, in the meantime, was leaning against the companion, when one of the natives went unperceived behind him, and struck him three or four blows on the head with a tomahawk, which instantly killed him. The cook, on seeing him attacked, ran to his assistance, but was immediately murdered in the same manner. I now sat down on the jib-boom, with tears in my eyes, and trembling with terror. Here I next saw the chief mate come running up the companion ladder, but before he reached the deck he was struck on the back of the neck in the same manner as the captain and the cook had been. He fell with the blow, but did not die immediately. A number of the natives now rushed in at the cabin door, while others jumped down through the skylight, and others were employed in cutting the lanyards of the rigging of the stays. At the same time, four of our crew jumped overboard off the foreyard, but were picked up by some canoes that were coming from the shore, and immediately bound hand and foot. The natives now mounted the rigging, and drove the rest of the crew down, all of whom were made prisoners. One of the chiefs beckoned to me to come to him, which I immediately did, and surrendered myself. We were then put all together into a large canoe, our hands being tied; and the New Zealanders searching us, took from us our knives, pipes, tobacco-boxes, and various other articles. The two dead bodies, and the wounded mate, were thrown into the canoe along with us. The mate groaned terribly, and seemed in great agony, the tomahawk having cut two inches deep into the back of his neck; and all the while one of the natives, who sat in the canoe with us, kept licking the blood from the wound with his tongue. Meantime, a num-

ber of women who had been left in the ship had jumped overboard, and were swimming to the shore, after having cut her cable, so that she drifted, and ran aground on the bar near the mouth of the river. The natives had not sense to shake the reefs out of the sails, but had chopped them off along the yards with their tomahawks, leaving the reefed part behind. The pigs, which we had bought from them, were many of them killed on board, and carried ashore dead in the canoes, and others were thrown overboard alive, and attempted to swim to the land; but many of them were killed in the water by the natives, who got astride on their backs, and then struck them on the head with their merys. Many of the canoes came to the land loaded with plunder from the ship; and numbers of the natives quarrelled about the division of the spoil, and fought and slew each other. I observed too, that they broke up our water-casks for the sake of the iron hoops. While all this was going on, we were detained in the canoe; but at last, when the sun was set, they conveyed us on shore to one of the villages, where they tied us by the hands to several small trees. The mate had expired before we got on shore, so that there now remained only twelve of us alive. The three dead bodies were then brought forward, and hung up by the heels to the branch of a tree, in order that the dogs might not get at them. A number of large fires were also kindled on the beach, for the purpose of giving light to the canoes, which were employed all night in going backward and forward between the shore and the ship, although it rained the greater part of the time.

"Gentle reader," continues Rutherford, "we will now consider the sad situation we were in; our ship lost, three of our companions already killed, and the rest of us tied each to a tree, starving with hunger,

wet, and cold, and knowing that we were in the hands of cannibals. The next morning, I observed that the surf had driven the ship over the bar, and she was now in the mouth of the river, and aground near the end of the village. Every thing being now out of her, about ten o'clock in the morning they set fire to her; after which they all mustered together on an unoccupied piece of ground near the village, where they remained standing for some time; but at last they all sat down except five, who were chiefs, for whom a large ring was left vacant in the middle. The five chiefs, of whom Aimy was one, then approached the place where we were, and after they had stood consulting together for some time, Aimy released me and another, and, taking us into the middle of the ring, made signs for us to sit down, which we did. In a few minutes, the other four chiefs came also into the ring, bringing along with them four more of our men, who were made to sit down beside us. The chiefs now walked backward and forward in the ring with their merys in their hands, and continued talking together for some time, but we understood nothing of what they said. The rest of the natives were all the while very silent, and seemed to listen to them with great attention. At length, one of the chiefs spoke to one of the natives who was seated on the ground, and the latter immediately rose, and, taking his tomahawk in his hand, went and killed the other six men who were tied to the trees. They groaned several times as they were struggling in the agonies of death, and at every groan the natives burst out into great fits of laughter. We could not refrain from weeping for the sad fate of our comrades, not knowing, at the same time, whose turn it might be next. Many of the natives, on seeing our tears, laughed aloud, and brandished their merys at us.

" Some of them now proceeded to dig eight large round holes, each about a foot deep, into which they afterwards put a great quantity of dry wood, and covered it over with a number of stones. They then set fire to the wood, which continued burning till the stones became red hot. In the mean time, some of them were employed in stripping the bodies of my deceased shipmates, which they afterwards cut up, for the purpose of cooking them, having first washed them in the river, and then brought them and laid them down on several green boughs which had been broken off the trees and spread on the ground, near the fires, for that purpose. The stones being now red hot, the largest pieces of the burning wood were pulled from under them and thrown away, and some green bushes, having been first dipped in water, were laid round their edges, while they were at the same time covered over with a few green leaves. The mangled bodies were then laid upon the top of the leaves, with a quantity of leaves also strewed over them; and after this a straw mat was spread over the top of each hole. Lastly, about three pints of water were poured upon each mat, which running through to the stones, caused a great steam, and then the whole was instantly covered over with earth.

" They afterwards gave us some roasted fish to eat, and three women were employed in roasting fern root for us. When they had roasted it, they laid it on a stone, and beat it with a piece of wood, until it became soft like dough. When cold again, however, it becomes hard, and snaps like gingerbread. We ate but sparingly of what they gave us. After this they took us to a house, and gave each of us a mat and some dried grass to sleep upon. Here we spent the night, two of the chiefs sleeping along with us.

"We got up next morning as soon as it was daylight, as did also the two chiefs, and went and sat down outside the house. Here we found a number of women busy in making baskets of green flax, into some of which, when they were finished, the bodies of our messmates, that had been cooking all night, were put, while others were filled with potatoes, that had been preparing by a similar process. I observed some of the children tearing the flesh from the bones of our comrades, before they were taken from the fires. A short time after this the chiefs assembled, and, having seated themselves on the ground, the baskets were placed before them, and they proceeded to divide the flesh among the multitude, at the rate of a basket among so many. They also sent us a basket of potatoes and some of the flesh, which resembled pork; but instead of partaking of it we shuddered at the very idea of such an unnatural and horrid custom, and made a present of it to one of the natives."

According to this account, the attack made upon the Agnes would seem to have been altogether unprovoked by the conduct either of the captain or any of the crew; but we must not, in matters of this kind, assume that we are in possession of the whole truth, when we have heard the statement of only one of the parties. According to the first accounts of the destruction of the Boyd, it would have appeared, that in that case also, the perpetrators of the massacre had received no provocation to excite them to the commission of such an outrage. What may have been the exact nature of the offence given to the natives in the present case, the narrative we have just transcribed hardly gives us any data even for conjecturing; unless we are to suppose that their vindictive feelings were called forth by the manner in which their pilfering may have been resented or

punished, about which, however, nothing is said in the account. But perhaps, after all, it is not necessary to refer their hostility to any immediate cause of this kind. These savages had probably many old injuries, sustained from former European visiters, yet unrevenged; and according to their notions, therefore, they had reason enough to hold every ship that approached their coast an enemy, and a fair subject for spoliation. It is lamentable that the conduct of Europeans should have offered them an excuse for such conduct*. The wanton cruelties committed upon these people by the commanders and crews of many of the vessels that have been of late years in the habit of resorting to their shores, are testified to, by too many evidences, to allow us to doubt the enormous extent to which they have been carried; and they are, at the same time, too much in the spirit of that systematic aggression and violence, which even British sailors are apt to conceive themselves entitled to practise upon naked and unarmed savages, to make the fact of their perpetration a matter of surprise to us. We must refer to Mr. Nicholas's book for many specific instances of such atrocities; but we may merely mention here, that the conduct in question is distinctly noticed, and denounced in the strongest terms, both in a proclamation by Governor Macquarie, dated the 9th of November, 1814, and also in another by Sir Thomas Brisbane, dated the 17th of May, 1824. So strong a feeling, indeed, had been excited upon this subject among the more respectable inhabitants of the English colony, that, in the year 1814, a society was formed in Sydney Town, with the Governor at its head, for the especial protection of the natives of the South Sea Islands

* See the previous account of the destruction of Tppahee's island, by the whalers, in blind retaliation for the massacre of the Boyd's people.

against the oppressions practised upon them by the crews of European vessels. The reports of the Missionaries likewise abound in notices of the flagrant barbarities, by which, in New Zealand, as well as elsewhere, the white man has signalized his superiority over his darker-complexioned brother. But it may be enough to quote one of their statements, namely, that within the first two or three years after the establishment of the Society's settlement at the Bay of Islands, not less than a hundred at least of the natives had been murdered by Europeans, in their immediate neighbourhood *. With such facts on record, it ought indeed to excite but little of our surprise, that the sight of the white man's ship in their horizon should be to these injured people, in every district the signal for a general muster, to meet the universal foe, and, if it may be accomplished by force or cunning, to gratify the great passion of savage life, revenge.

The circumstances of this attack are all illustrative of the New Zealand character; and indeed the whole narrative is strikingly accordant with the accounts we have from other sources of the manner in which these savages are wont to act on such occasions—although there certainly never has before appeared so minute and complete a detail of any similar transaction. The gathering of the inland population by fires lighted on the hills—the previous crowding and almost complete occupation of the vessel—the sly and patient watching for the moment of opportunity—the instant seizure of it when it came—the management of the whole with such precision and skill, that, as in the case of the Boyd, and indeed in every other known instance, while the success of the movement was perfect, this result was obtained without

* Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, vol. v. p. 465.

the expense of so much as a drop of blood on the part of the assailants—all these things are the uniform accompaniments of New Zealand treachery when displayed in such enterprises. The rule of military tactics among this people is, in the first place, if possible, to surprise their enemies; and, in the second, to endeavour to alarm and confound them. This latter is doubtless partly the purpose of the song and dance, which form with them the constant prelude to the assault;—although these vehement expressions of passion operate also powerfully as excitements to their own sanguinary valour and contempt of death. Rutherford's description of the violence with which they danced on board the ship in the present case, immediately before commencing their attack on the crew, reminds us strikingly, even by its expression, of the account Crozet gives us, in his narrative of the voyage of M. Marion, of their exhibitions of a similar sort even when they were only in sport. They would often dance, says he, with such fury when on board the ship that we feared they would drive in our deck *.

The alleged cannibalism of the New Zealanders is a subject that has given rise to a good deal of controversy; and it has been even very recently contended, that the imputation, if not altogether unfounded, is very nearly so, and that the horrid practice in question, if it does exist among these people at all, has certainly never been carried beyond the mere act of tasting human flesh, in obedience to some feeling of superstition or frantic revenge, and even that perpetrated only rarely and with repugnance †. Without attempting to theorise as to such a matter on the ground of such narrow views as or-

* Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud, p. 134.

† See particularly an article on Cruise's Journal of a Residence in New Zealand, in the Quarterly Review, No. 61.

dinary experience would suggest, we may here state what the evidence is which we really have for the cannibalism of the New Zealanders. Cook was the first who discovered the fact, which he did in his first visit to the country. We have noticed, in a former chapter, the terror manifested by the three boys whom he took out of the boat in Poverty Bay, on his proposing to land them on a particular part of the shore, lest he should leave them in the hands of their enemies, who, as they asserted, would kill and eat them. A short time after, some others of the natives, whom he had treated kindly in the ship, endeavoured to persuade their countrymen to come on board, by assuring them that they would not be eaten. A number of them afterwards acknowledged to Tupia that it was their common practice to eat their enemies whom they slew in battle*. But the strongest proof of all was that which was obtained in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Captain Cook having one day gone ashore here, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and other persons belonging to the ship, they found a family of the natives employed in dressing some provisions. "The body of a dog," says Cook, "was at this time buried in their oven, and many provision baskets stood near it. Having cast our eyes carelessly into one of these as we passed it, we saw two bones pretty cleanly picked, which did not seem to be the bones of a dog, and which, upon a nearer examination, we discovered to be those of a human body. At this sight we were struck with horror, though it was only a confirmation of what we had heard many times since we arrived upon this coast. As we could have no doubt but the bones were human, neither could we have any doubt that the flesh which covered them had been eaten. They were found in a provision-basket; the flesh

* Cook's First Voyage, vol. ii., p. 319.

that remained appeared manifestly to have been dressed by fire, and in the gristles at the end were the marks of the teeth which had gnawed them. To put an end, however, to conjecture founded upon circumstances and appearances, we directed Tupia to ask what bones they were; and the Indians, without the least hesitation, answered, the bones of a man. They were then asked what was become of the flesh, and they replied that they had eaten it; but, said Tupia, why did you not eat the body of the woman which we saw floating upon the water? The woman, said they, died of disease; besides, she was our relation, and we eat only the bodies of our enemies who are killed in battle. Upon inquiry who the man was whose bones we had found, they told us that, about five days before, a boat belonging to their enemies came into the bay, with many persons on board, and that this man was one of seven whom they had killed. Though stronger evidence of this horrid practice prevailing among the inhabitants of this coast will scarcely be required, we have still stronger to give. One of us asked if they had any human bones with the flesh remaining upon them; and upon their answering us, that all had been eaten, we affected to disbelieve that the bones were human, and said that they were the bones of a dog; upon which one of the Indians, with some eagerness, took hold of his own fore-arm, and thrusting it towards us, said that the bone which Mr. Banks held in his hand had belonged to that part of a human body; at the same time, to convince us that the flesh had been eaten, he took hold of his own arm with his teeth, and made show of eating. He also bit and gnawed the bone which Mr. Banks had taken, drawing it through his mouth, and showing by signs that it had afforded a delicious repast*." Some others

* Cook's First Voyage, ii. 390.

of them, in a conversation with Tupia next day, confirmed all this in the fullest manner; and they were afterwards in the habit of bringing human bones, the flesh of which they had eaten, and offering them to the English for sale.

When Cook was at the same place in November, 1773, in the course of his second voyage, he obtained still stronger evidence of what he expressly calls their "great liking for this kind of food"—his former account of their indulgence in which had been discredited, he tells us, by many. Some of the officers of the ship having gone one afternoon on shore, observed the head and bowels of a youth, who had been lately killed, lying on the beach; and one of them, having purchased the head, brought it on board. A piece of the flesh having then been broiled and given to one of the natives, he ate it immediately in the presence of all the officers and most of the men. Nothing is said of any aversion he seemed to feel to the shocking repast. Nay, when, upon Cook's return on board, (for he had been at this time absent on shore,) another piece of the flesh was broiled and brought to the quarter-deck, that he also might be an eye-witness of what his officers had already seen, one of the New Zealanders, he tells us, "ate it with surprising avidity." "This," he adds, "had such an effect on some of our people as to make them sick*." This very head was afterwards deposited in Mr. Hunter's Museum, where it now is. Of the persons who sailed with Cook, no one seems eventually to have retained a doubt as to the prevalence of cannibalism among these savages. Mr. Burney, who had been long sceptical, was at last convinced of the fact, by what he observed when he went to look after the crew of the Adventure's boat

* Cook's Second Voyage, i. 244.

who had been killed in Grass Cove; and both the elder and the younger Forster, who accompanied Cook on his second voyage, express their participation in the general belief*. John Ledyard, who was afterwards distinguished as an adventurous African traveller, but who sailed with Cook in the capacity of a corporal of marines, bears testimony to the same fact†.

Mr. Savage, in treating of this subject, confines himself to a few general remarks, and states no facts that came under his own observation. Mr. Nicholas says, that he frequently questioned the natives on their eating of human flesh, and that they never denied the fact; but, acknowledging it candidly, excused it with their usual apology for all their barbarous customs, that "it was good in New Zealand‡." The testimony of Captain Cruise is very express. The New Zealanders, he says, never denied cannibalism to be one of their customs, but, on the contrary, often expressed their predilection for human flesh§. He states also, in another place, that while the Dromedary lay in the Bay of Islands, two slaves were killed by one of the neighbouring chiefs for some alleged crime, and that one of them, after having lain a day buried, was taken up and devoured. Some of the officers happening to pass through the village while the natives were engaged at this feast, observed them throw their mats over some object around which they were sitting, when they saw the strangers approach. Although the gentlemen walked on without appearing to notice what they had seen, a common sailor, who afterwards

* Vide J. R. Forster's Observations, p. 325, and J. G. A. Forster's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 511, &c.

† Spark's Life of Ledyard.

‡ Nicholas's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 62.

§ Cruise's Journal, p. 286.

came up, was not only an eye-witness of their eating the body, but was invited to partake of the repast*. Mr. Marsden in like manner assures us, in the journal of his first visit to the country, that the natives did not appear to have any idea that cannibalism was an unnatural crime; and when he expressed to them his abhorrence of the practice, they merely remarked, that it had always been the custom with them to eat their enemies. But an appeal has been particularly made to the experience of the Missionaries as to this matter, they, it being contended, during all the time of their residence in New Zealand, never having had any sufficient reason to believe in the cannibalism imputed to the natives. In answer to this assertion, it is sufficient to open their reports at almost any page that may present itself. Mr. Francis Hall, for instance, writing under date of December 21st, 1821, states, that they had that day seen the widow of a chief who had just been killed in battle, assisted by a number of other women, beat out the brains of several prisoners of war, both male and female, with the clubs which they used to pound fern root—and that they understood fourteen persons more had been murdered after they retired from the scene, nine of whom were next day eaten by the chiefs and the people†. On that morning, indeed, two of the Missionaries, Mr. Kemp and Mr. Shepherd, saw part of the bodies roasting at a fire, and some human flesh ready cooked lying at a little distance in baskets on the ground. Other notices to the same purport might be referred to in abundance.

It thus appears that the testimony of those who have actually visited New Zealand, in so far as it has been recorded, is unanimous upon this head.

* Cruise's Journal, p. 184.
† Missionary Register for 1823, p. 505.

To the authorities that have been already adduced, may be now added that of Rutherford, whose evidence, both in the extract from his Journal that has been already given, and in other passages to which we shall afterwards have occasion to refer, is in perfect accordance with the statements of all preceding reporters entitled to speak upon the subject. The facts that have been quoted would seem to shew that the eating of human flesh among this people, is not merely an occasional excess, prompted only by the phrensy of revenge, but that it is actually resorted to as a gratification of appetite, as well as of passion. It is very probable, however, that the practice may have had its origin in those vindictive feelings which mix, to so remarkable a degree, in all the enmities and wars of these savages. This is a much more likely supposition than that it originated in the difficulty of procuring other food; in which case, as has been remarked, it could not well have, at any time, sprung up either in New Zealand or in almost any other of the countries in which it is known to prevail. Certain superstitious notions, besides, which are connected with it among this people, sufficiently indicate the motives which must have first led to it; for they believe that, by eating their enemies, they not only dishonour their bodies, but consign their souls to perpetual misery. This is stated by Cook *. Other accounts, which we have from more recent authorities, concur in shewing that the person who eats any part of the body of another whom he has slain in battle, fancies he secures to himself thereby a portion of the valour or good fortune which had hitherto belonged to his dead enemy †. The most common occasion, too, on which slaves are slain and eaten, is by way of an offering to the manes of a chief or any of his family

* See Third Voyage, i. 138.

† See Mr. Marsden's Journal of his second Visit, p. 302.

who may have been cut off in battle. All this would go to prove that the cannibalism of the New Zealanders had, on its first introduction, been intimately associated with certain feelings or notions which seemed to demand the act as a duty, and not at all with any circumstances of distress or famine which compelled a resort to it as a dire necessity. There is too much reason for apprehending, however, that the unnatural repast, having ceased in this way to be regarded with that disgust with which it is turned from by every unpolluted appetite, has now become an enjoyment in which they not unfrequently indulge without any reference to the considerations which originally tempted them to partake of it. Indeed, such a result, instead of being incredible or improbable, would appear to be almost an inevitable consequence of the general and systematic perpetration, under any pretext, of so daring an outrage upon nature as that of which these savages are, on all hands, allowed to be guilty.

The practice of cannibalism, which has prevailed among many other nations as well as the New Zealanders, has probably not had always exactly the same origin. According to Mr. Mariner, it is of very recent introduction among the people of Tonga, having been unknown among them till it was imported about fifty or sixty years ago, along with other warlike tastes, by their neighbours of the Fiji islands, whose assistance had been called in by one of the parties in a civil struggle. Here is an instance of the practice having originated purely in the ferocity engendered by the habit of war. In other cases it has, perhaps, arisen out of the kindred practice of offering up human beings as sacrifices to the gods. Humboldt, in his work on the indigenous inhabitants of South America, gives us an

interesting account of the introduction of this latter atrocity among the Azteques, a people of Mexico, whose annals record its first perpetration to have taken place so late as the year 1317 *.

But the most extraordinary instance of cannibalism which is known to exist in the world is that practised by the Battas, an extensive and populous nation of Sumatra. These people, according to Sir Stamford Raffles, have a regular government, and deliberative assemblies; they possess a peculiar language and written character, can generally write, and have a talent for eloquence; they acknowledge a God, are fair and honourable in their dealings, and crimes amongst them are few; their country is highly cultivated. Yet this people, so far advanced in civilization, are cannibals upon principle and system. Mr. Marsden, in his History of Sumatra, seems to confine their cannibalism to the accustomed cases of prisoners taken in war and to other gratifications of revenge. But it is stated by Sir Stamford Raffles, upon testimony which is unimpeachable, that criminals and prisoners are not only eaten according to the law of the land, but that the same law permits their being mangled and eaten while alive. The following extraordinary account, which we extract from a letter of Sir Stamford Raffles to Mr. Marsden himself, dated Feb. 27, 1820†, is sufficiently revolting; but it is important as shewing the wonderful influence of ancient customs in hardening the hearts of an otherwise mild and respectable people, and is therefore calculated to make us look with less severity upon the practices of the more ignorant New Zealanders. The progress of knowledge and of true religion can alone eradicate such fearful relics of a

* Vues des Cordillères, p. 94.

† Life and Public Services of Sir Stamford Raffles, 4to. p. 425.

tremendous superstition—the offering, in another shape, to

> "Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
> Of human sacrifice."

"I have found all you say on the subject of cannibalism more than confirmed. I do not think you have even gone far enough. You might have broadly stated, that it is the practice, not only to eat the victim, but to eat him alive. I shall pass over the particulars of all previous information which I have received, and endeavour to give you, in a few words, the result of a deliberate inquiry from the Batta chiefs of Tappanooly. I caused the most intelligent to be assembled; and, in the presence of Mr. Prince and Dr. Jack, obtained the following information, of the truth of which none of us have the least doubt.

"It is the universal and standing law of the Battas, that death by eating shall be inflicted in the following cases:

"1st. For adultery.

"2d. For midnight robbery; and,

"3d. In wars of importance, that is to say, one district against another, the prisoners are sacrificed.

"4th. For intermarrying in the same tribe, which is forbidden from the circumstance of their having ancestors in common; and,

"5th. For treacherous attacks on a house, village, or person.

"In all the above cases it is lawful for the victims to be eaten, and they are eaten alive, that is to say, they are not previously put to death. The victim is tied to a stake, with his arms extended, the party collect in a circle around him, and the chief gives the order to commence eating. The chief enemy, when it is a prisoner, or the chief party injured in other cases, has the first selection; and after he has cut off

ni slice, others cut off pieces according to their taste and fancy, until all the flesh is devoured.

"It is either eaten raw or grilled, and generally dipped in sambul (a preparation of Chili pepper and salt), which is always in readiness. Rajah Bandaharra, a Batta, and one of the chiefs of Tappanooly, asserted that he was present at a festival of this kind about eight years ago, at the village of Subluan, on the other side of the bay, not nine miles distant, where the heads may still be seen.

"When the party is a prisoner taken in war, he is eaten immediately, and on the spot. Whether dead or alive he is equally eaten, and it is usual even to drag the bodies from the graves, and, after disinterring them, to eat the flesh. This only in cases of war.

"From the clear and concurring testimony of all parties, it is certain that it is the practice *not* to kill the victim till the whole of the flesh cut off by the party is eaten, should he live so long; the chief or party injured then comes forward and cuts off the head, which he carries home as a trophy. Within the last three years there have been two instances of this kind of punishment within ten miles of Tappanooly, and the heads are still preserved.

"In cases of adultery the injured party usually takes the ear or ears; but the ceremony is not allowed to take place, except the wife's relations are present and partake of it.

"In these and other cases where the criminal is directed to be eaten, he is secured and kept for two or three days, till every person (that is to say males) is assembled. He is then eaten quietly, and in cold blood, with as much ceremony, and perhaps more, than attends the execution of a capital sentence in Europe

"The bones are scattered abroad after the flesh has been eaten, and the head alone preserved. The brains belong to the chief, or injured party, who usually preserves them in a bottle, for purposes of witchcraft, &c. They do not eat the bowels, but like the heart; and many drink the blood from bamboos. The palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are the delicacies of epicures.

"Horrid and diabolical as these practices may appear, it is no less true that they are the result of much deliberation among the parties, and seldom, except in the case of prisoners in war, the effect of immediate and private revenge. In all cases of crimes, the party has a regular trial, and no punishment can be inflicted until sentence is regularly and formally passed in the public fair. Here the chiefs of the neighbouring kampong assemble, hear the evidence, and deliberate upon the crime and probable guilt of the party; when condemned, the sentence is ratified by the chiefs drinking the tuah, or toddy, which is final, and may be considered equivalent to signing and sealing with us.

"I was very particular in my inquiries whether the assembly were intoxicated on occasions of these punishments. I was assured it was never the case. The people take rice with them, and eat it with the meat, but no tuah is allowed. The punishment is always inflicted in public. The men alone are allowed to partake, as the flesh of man is prohibited to women (probably from an apprehension they might become too fond of it). The flesh is not allowed to be carried away from the spot, but must be consumed at the time.

"I am assured that the Battas are more attached to these laws than the Mahomedans are to the Koran, and that the number of the punishments is very considerable. My informants considered that

there could not be less than fifty or sixty men eaten in a year, and this in times of peace; but they were unable to estimate the true extent, considering the great population of the country; they were confident, however, that these laws were strictly enforced wherever the name of Batta was known, and that it was only in the immediate vicinity of our settlements that they were modified and neglected. For proof, they referred me to every Batta in the vicinity, and to the number of skulls to be seen in every village, each of which was from a victim of the kind.

" With regard to the relish with which the parties devour the flesh, it appeared that, independent of the desire of revenge which may be supposed to exist among the principals, about one-half of the people eat it with a relish, and speak of it with delight; the other half, though present, may not partake. Human flesh is, however, generally considered preferable to cow or buffalo beef, or hog, and was admitted to be so even by my informants.

" Adverting to the possible origin of this practice, it was observed that formerly they ate their parents when too old for work; this, however, is no longer the case, and thus a step has been gained in civilization.

" It is admitted, that the parties may be redeemed for a pecuniary compensation, but this is entirely at the option of the chief enemy or injured party, who, after his sentence is passed, may either have his victim eaten, or he may sell him for a slave; but the law is that he shall be eaten, and the prisoner is entirely at the mercy of his prosecutor.

" The laws by which these sentences are inflicted are too well known to require reference to books, but I am promised some MS. accounts which relate to the subject. These laws are called *huhum pinang àn*,—from *depang àn*, to eat—law or sentence to eat

"I could give you many more details, but the above may be sufficient to shew that our friends the Battas are even worse than you have represented them, and that those who are still sceptical have yet more to learn. I have also a great deal to say on the other side of the character, for the Battas have many virtues. I prize them highly."

Chapter VI.

Rutherford's Journey into the Interior.—Reception at a Village.—Crying of the Natives.—Feasting.—Sleeping.—Carvings.—Utensils.—Chief's Wife and Daughters.—Tattooing.—Taboo.

Rutherford and his comrades spent another night in the same manner in which they had done the last; and on the following morning set out, in company with the five chiefs, on a journey into the interior. When they left the coast, he remarks, the ship still continued burning. They were attended by about fifty of the natives, who were loaded with the plunder of the unfortunate vessel. That day he calculates that they travelled only about ten miles, the journey being very fatiguing from the want of any regular roads, and the necessity of making their way through a succession of woods and swamps. The village at which their walk terminated was the residence of one of the chiefs, whose name was Rangadi, and who was received on his arrival by about two hundred of the inhabitants. They came in a crowd, and, kneeling down around him, began to cry aloud and cut their arms, faces, and other parts of their bodies with pieces of sharp flint, of which each of them carried a number tied with a string about his neck, till the blood flowed copiously from their wounds. These demonstrations of excited feeling, which Rutherford describes as merely their usual manner of receiving any of their friends who have been for some time absent, are rather more extravagant than seem to have been commonly observed to take place on such occasions in other parts of the

island. Mr. Marsden, however, states that on Korro-korro's return from Port Jackson, many of the women of his tribe who came out to receive him "cut themselves in their faces, arms, and breasts, with sharp shells or flints, till the blood streamed down *." Some time after, when Duaterra and Shunghie went on shore at the Bay of Islands, they met with a similar reception from the females of their tribes †. Mr. Savage asserts, that this cutting of their faces by the women always takes place on the meeting of friends who have been long separated; but that the ceremony consists only of embracing and crying, when the separation of the parties has been short ‡. It may be remarked, that the custom of receiving strangers with tears, by way of doing them honour, has prevailed with other savages. Among the native tribes of Brazil, according to Lafitau §, it used to be the custom for the women, on the approach of any one to whom they wished to shew especial fidelity, to crouch down on their heels, and, spreading their hands over their faces, to remain for a considerable time in that posture, howling in a sort of cadence, and shedding tears. Among the Sioux, again, it was the duty of the man to perform this ceremony of lamentation on such occasions, which they did standing, and laying their hands on the heads of their visitors. In some cases, the wounds which the New Zealand women inflict on themselves are intended to express their grief for friends who have perished in war; and probably this may have been a reason for the strong exhibition of feeling in the instance just noticed by Rutherford, as the chiefs had then returned from an expedition. Such a mode of mourning has been often observed in New Zealand. During the time that Captain Cruise

* Journal of First Visit, p. 465.
† Id. p. 469.
‡ Account of New Zealand, p. 43.
§ Vol. iv. p. 154.

was at the Bay of Islands, they found one day, upon going on shore, that a body of the natives had just returned from a war expedition, in which they had taken a considerable number of prisoners, consisting of men, women, and children, some of the latter of whom were not two years old; and among the women was one, distinguished by her superior beauty, who sat apart from the rest upon the beach, and, though silent, seemed buried in affliction. They learned that her father, a chief of some consequence, had been killed by the man whose prisoner she now was, and who kept near her during the greater part of the day. The officers remained on shore till the evening; "and as we were preparing to return to the ship," continues Captain Cruise, "we were drawn to that part of the beach where the prisoners were, by the most doleful cries and lamentations. Here was the interesting young slave in a situation that ought to have softened the heart of the most unfeeling. The man who had slain her father, having cut off his head, and preserved it by a process peculiar to these islanders, took it out of a basket, where it had hitherto been concealed, and threw it into the lap of the unhappy daughter." At once she seized it with a degree of phrenzy not to be described; and subsequently, with a bit of sharp shell, disfigured her person in so shocking a manner, that in a few minutes not a vestige of her former beauty remained. They afterwards learned that this fellow had married the very woman whom he had treated with such singular barbarity.

The crying, however, seems to be a ceremony that takes place universally on the meeting of friends who have been for some time parted. We may give, in illustration of this custom, Captain Cruise's description of the reception by their relatives of the nine New Zealanders who came along with im in the

Dromedary from Port Jackson. "When their fathers, brothers, &c., were admitted into the ship," says he, "the scene exceeded description; the muskets were all laid aside, and every appearance of joy vanished. It is customary with these extraordinary people to go through the same ceremony upon meeting as upon taking leave of their friends. They join their noses together, and remain in this position for at least half an hour; during which time they sob and howl in the most doleful manner. If there be many friends gathered around the person who has returned, the nearest relation takes possession of his nose, while the others hang upon his arms, shoulders, and legs, and keep perfect time with the chief mourner (if he may be so called) in the various expressions of his lamentation. This ended, they resume their wonted cheerfulness, and enter into a detail of all that has happened during their separation. As there were nine New Zealanders just returned, and more than three times that number to commemorate the event, the howl was quite tremendous, and so novel to almost every one in the ship, that it was with difficulty our people's attention could be kept to matters at that moment much more essential. Little Repero, who had frequently boasted, during the passage, that he was too much of an Englishman ever to cry again, made a strong effort when his father, Shungie, approached him, to keep his word; but his early habit soon got the better of his resolution, and he evinced, if possible, more distress than any of the others*." The sudden thawing of poor Repero's heroic resolves was an incident exactly similar to another which Mr. Nicholas had witnessed. Among the New Zealanders who, after having resided for some time in New South Wales, returned with him and Mr. Marsden to their native

* Cruise's Journal, pp. 19—21.

country, was one named Tui, or Tooi, who prided himself greatly on being able to imitate European manners; and, accordingly, declaring that *he* would not cry, but would behave like an Englishman, began, as the trying moment approached, to converse most manfully with Mr. Nicholas, evidently, however, forcing his spirits the whole time. But "his fortitude," continues Mr. Nicholas, "was very soon subdued; for being joined by a young chief about his own age, and one of his best friends, he flew to his arms, and, bursting into tears, indulged exactly the same emotions as the others*." Tooi, of whom we shall have more to say in the sequel, was afterwards brought to England, and remained for some time in this country. He was at present in attendance upon his brother Korro-korro, one of the greatest chiefs in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, and, as well as Shungie, who has just been mentioned, celebrated all over the country for his love of fighting, and the number of victories he had won. Yet even this hardy warrior was no more proof than any one of his wives or children against this strange habit of emotion. The first person he met on his landing chanced to be his aunt, whose appearance, as, bent to the earth with age and infirmities, she ascended a hill, supporting herself upon a long staff, Mr. Nicholas compares to that which we might conceive the Sibyl bore, when she presented herself to Tarquin. Yet, when she came up to Korro-korro, the chief, we are told, having fallen upon her neck, and applied his nose to hers, the two continued in this posture for some minutes, talking together in a low and mournful voice; and then disengaging themselves, they gave vent to their feelings by weeping bitterly, the chief remaining for about a quarter of an hour leaning on his musket, while the big drops continued to

* Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 118.

Portrait of Tooi, in his Costume as a New Zealand Chief; from the Missionary Papers.

roll down his cheeks. The old woman's daughter, who had come along with her, then made her approach; and another scene, if possible of still more tumultuous tenderness than the former, took place between the two cousins. The chief hung as before, in an agony of affection, on the neck of his relation; and "as for the woman," says Mr. Nicholas, "she was so affected, that the mat she wore was literally soaked through with her tears *." A passionate attachment to friends is, indeed, one of the most prevailing feelings of the savage state. Dampier tells us of an Indian that recovered his friend unexpectedly on the island of Juan Fernandez, and who immediately prostrated himself on the ground, at his feet. "We stood gazing in silence," says the manly sailor, "at this tender scene."

The house of the chief, to which Rutherford and his comrades were taken, was the largest in the village, being both long and wide, although very low, and having no other entrance than an aperture, which was shut by means of a sliding door, and was so much lower even than the roof, that it was necessary to crawl upon the hands and knees to get through it. Two large pigs and a quantity of potatoes were now cooked in the manner already described; and when they were ready, a portion having been allotted to the slaves, who are never permitted to eat along with the chiefs, the latter sat down to their repast, the white men taking their places beside them. The feast, however, was not held within the house, but in the open air; where also such of the meat as was not consumed was hung up on posts for a future occasion. One of the strongest prejudices of the New Zealanders is an aversion to be where any article of food is suspended over their heads; and on this account, they never permit anything eatable to be brought within

* Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 118.

their huts, but take all their meals out of doors, in an open space adjoining to the house, which has been called by some writers the kitchen, it being there that the meal is cooked as well as eaten. Crozet says, that every one of these kitchens has in it a cooking hole, dug in the ground, of about two feet diameter, and between one and two deep *. Even when the natives are confined to their beds by sickness, and, it may be, at the point of death, they must receive whatever food they take in this outer room, which, however, is sometimes provided with a shed, supported upon posts, although in no case does it appear to be inclosed by walls. It is here, accordingly, that those who are in so weak a state from illness as not to be able to bear removal from one place to another, usually have their couches spread; as, were they to choose to recline inside the house, it would be necessary to leave them to die of want. Women in labour, also, are generally delivered under these sheds, if the weather be bad; but such is the constitution of the people, and the mildness of the climate, that even this slight protection is in such cases but rarely resorted to †. Mr. Nicholas, in the course of an excursion which he made in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, was once not a little annoyed and put out of humour by this absurd superstition. It rained heavily when he and Mr. Marsden arrived very hungry at a village belonging to a chief of their acquaintance, where, although the chief was not at home, they were very hospitably received, their friends proceeding immediately to dress some potatoes to make them a dinner. But after they had prepared the meal, they insisted, as usual, that it should be eaten in the open air. This condition, Mr. Nicholas, in the circum-

* Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud, p. 66.

† Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 273.

stances, naturally thought a somewhat hard one; but it was absolutely necessary either to comply with it, or to go without the potatoes. To make matters worse, it happened that the present dining-room had not even a shed. So, they had no course left, but to take shelter in the best way they could, under a projection from the roof of the house, extending about three feet; and here they contrived to take their repast, without being very much drenched. However, they were not allowed this indulgence without many anxious scruples on the part of their friends, who considered even their venturing so near to the house on such an occasion as an act of daring impiety. As they had got possession of the potatoes, their entertainers, though very much shocked and alarmed, did not proceed to such rudeness as to take these from them again; but whenever they wanted to drink out of the calabash that had been brought to them, they obliged them to thrust out their heads for it from under the covering, although the rain continued to fall in torrents. Fatigued as he was, and vexed at being in this way kept out of the comfortable shelter he had expected, Mr. Nicholas at last commenced inveighing, he tells us, against the inhospitable custom, with much acrimony; and as Tooi, who was with them, had always shewed so strong a predilection for European customs, he turned to him, and asked him if he did not think that these notions of his countrymen were all *gammon*. Tooi, however, replied sharply, that "it was no gammon at all;" adding, "New Zealand man say that Mr. Marsden's *crackee-crackee* (preaching) of a Sunday is all *gammon*," in indignant retaliation for the insult that had been offered to his national customs. But the worst part of the adventure was yet to come; for as the night was now fast approaching, and the rain still pouring down inces-

santly, it was impossible to think of returning to the ship; "and we were therefore," continues Mr. Nicholas, "obliged to resolve upon remaining where we were, though we had no bed to expect, nor even a comfortable floor to stretch upon. We wrapped ourselves up in our great coats, which by good fortune we had brought with us, and when the hour of rest came on, laid ourselves down under the projecting roof, choosing rather to remain here together, than to go into the house and mingle with its crowded inmates, which we knew would be very disagreeable. Mr. Marsden, who is blessed by nature with a strong constitution, and capable of enduring almost any fatigue, was very soon asleep; but I, who have not been cast in an Herculean mould, nor much accustomed to severe privations, felt all the misery of the situation, while the cold and wet to which I was unavoidably exposed, from the place being open, brought on a violent rheumatic headache, that prevented me from once closing my eyes, and kept me awake in the greatest anguish. Being at length driven from this wretched shelter by the rain, which was still beating against me, I crept into the house, through the narrow aperture that served for a door; and, stretching myself among my rude friends, I endeavoured to get some repose: but I found this equally impossible here as in the place I had left. The pain in my head still continued; and those around me, being all buried in profound sleep, played, during the whole night, such music through their noses, as effectually prevented me from being able to join in the same chorus*."

On one occasion, in the course of his second visit, Mr. Marsden spent the night in the house of a chief, the entrance to which was of such narrow dimensions that he could not, he says, creep in without taking

* Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 276.

his coat off. The apartment altogether measured only about fourteen feet by ten; and when he looked into it he found a fire blazing on the centre of the floor, which made the place as hot as an oven, there being no vent for the smoke, except through the hole which served for a door. However, the fire, on his entreating it, was taken out, and then he and his friend Mr. Butler, who was with him, crept in, and were followed by their entertainer, his wife and nephew. The hut was still extremely hot, and they perspired profusely when they lay down; but they were a little relieved by the New Zealanders consenting to allow the door to remain open during the night. Another time he was thrust into a still closer dormitory. "The entrance," says he, "was just sufficient for a man to creep into. Being very cold, I was glad to occupy such a warm berth. I judged the hut to be about eight feet wide, and twelve long. It had a fire in the centre; and no vent either for smoke or heat. The chiefs who were with us threw off all their mats, and lay down close together in a state of perfect nudity. I had not been many minutes in this oven, before I found the heat and smoke, above, below, and on every side, to be insufferable. Though the night was cold, Mr. Kendall and myself were compelled to quit our habitation. I crept out, and walked in the village, to see if I could meet with a shed to keep me from the damp air till the morning. I found one empty, into which I entered. I had not been long under my present cover before I observed a chief, who came with us from the last village, come out of the hut which I had left, perfectly naked. The moon shone very bright. I saw him run from hut to hut, till at last he found me under my shed, and urged me to return. I told him I could not bear the heat, and requested him to allow me to remain where I was; to which

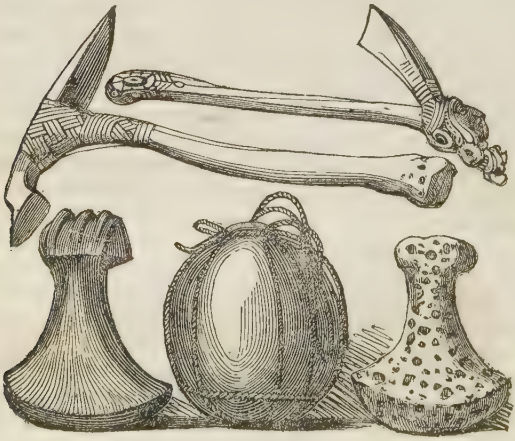
he at length consented with reluctance. I was surprised at the little effect that heat or cold seemed to have upon him. He had come out of the hut smoking like a hot loaf drawn from the oven, walked about to find me, and then sat down to converse for some time, without any clothing, though the night was cold. Mr. Kendall remained sitting under his mat, in the open air, till morning."

The New Zealanders make only two meals in the day, one in the morning and another at sunset*; but their voracity when they do eat is often very great. We have already noticed the enormous quantities of bread and pork which were devoured by the three youths whom Cook took on board the ship in Poverty Bay. Mr. Nicholas remarks that the chiefs and their followers, with whom he made the voyage from Port Jackson, used, while in the ship, to seize upon every thing they could lay their hands upon in the shape of food. In consequence of this habit of consuming an extraordinary quantity of food, a New Zealander, with all his powers of endurance in other respects, suffers dreadfully when he has not the usual means of satisfying his hunger.

The huts of the common people are described as very wretched, and little better than sheds†; but Mr. Nicholas mentions, that those which he saw in the northern part of the country had uniformly well-cultivated little gardens attached to them, which were stocked with turnips, and sweet and common potatoes‡. Crozet tells us, that the only articles of furniture the French ever found in these huts, were fishing-hooks, nets, and lines, calabashes containing water, a few tools made of stone, and several cloaks and other garments suspended from the walls§.

* Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud, p. 67.
† Journal, p. 28. ‡ Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 110.
§ Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud, p. 64.

Amongst the tools, one resembling our adze is in the most common use; and it is remarkable that the handles of these implements are often composed of human bones. In the museum of the Church Missionary Society there are adzes, the handle of one of which is formed of the bone of a human arm, and another of that of a leg. The bread-pounder, formed of a large fish-bone, is also in general use:—

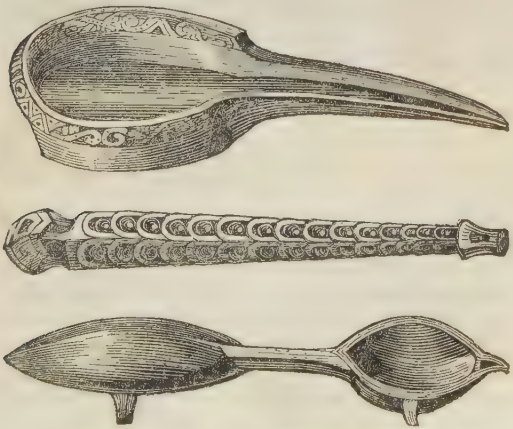


Adzes, Bread Pounders, and Bottle.

In the plates to Cook's Voyages is also given a representation of a carving-knife or saw. It is called by the former name on the original drawing in the British Museum, and by the latter on the engraved print:—

Carving-knife, or Saw.

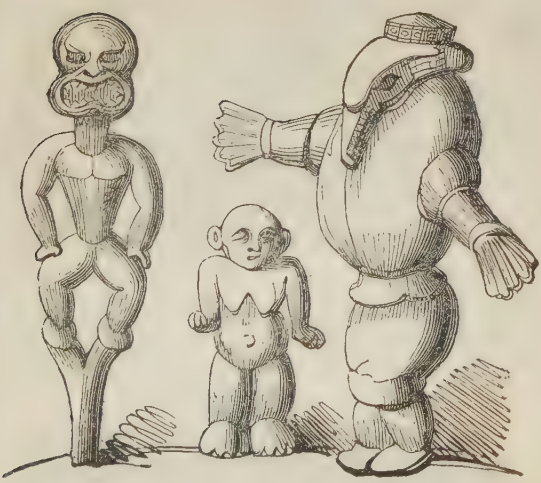
We are ignorant of the use of some of their utensils. The following articles are found in the museum of the Church Missionary Society:—



Utensils in the Museum of the Church Missionary Society.

The common people generally sleep in the open air, in a sitting posture, and covered by their upper mats, all but the head; which has been described as giving them the appearance of so many hay-cocks or bee-hives.

The house of the chief is generally, as Rutherford found it to be in the present case, the largest in the village; but every village has, in addition to the dwelling houses of which it consists, a public storehouse, or repository of the common stock of sweet potatoes, which is a still larger structure than the habitation of the chief. One which Captain Cruise describes was erected upon several posts driven into the ground, which were floored over with deals at the height of about four feet, as a foundation. Both the sides and the roof were compactly formed of stakes intertwisted with grass; and a sliding doorway, scarcely large enough to admit a man, formed the entrance. The roof projected over this, and was ornamented with pieces of plank painted red, and having a variety of grotesque figures carved on them. The whole building was about twenty feet long, eight feet wide, and five feet high. The residences of the chiefs are built upon the ground, and have generally the floor, and a small space in front, neatly paved; but they are so low, that a man can stand upright in very few of them. The huts, as well as the storehouses, are adorned with carving over the door. Rutherford says, each of them has an image stuck upon the ridge-pole, to intimate that no slave may enter the house during the absence of the owner, the punishment for violating this regulation being instant death. The following are representations of some of these figures, which have been mistaken for idols.



One of the arts in which the New Zealanders most excel is that of carving in wood. Some of their performances in this way are, no doubt, grotesque enough; but they often display both a taste and ingenuity, which, especially when we consider their miserably imperfect tools, it is impossible to behold without admiration. This is one of the arts which, even in civilized countries, does not seem to flourish best in a highly advanced state of society. Even among ourselves, it certainly is not at present cultivated with so much success as it was a century or two ago. Machinery, the monopolizing power of our age, is not well fitted to the production of striking effects in this particular branch of the arts. Fine carving is displayed, as in the works of Gibbons, by a rich and natural variety, altogether opposed to that faultless and inflexible regularity of operation

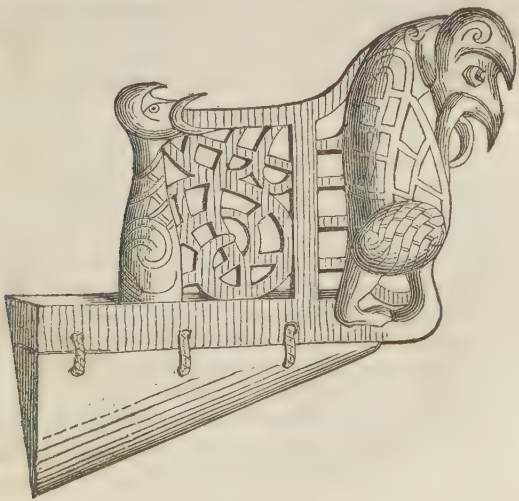
which is the perfection of a machine. Hence the lathe, with all the miraculous capabilities it has been made to evolve, can never here come into successful competition with the chisel, in so far as the quality and spirit of the performance are concerned; but the former may, nevertheless, drive the latter out of the market, (and seems in a great measure to have done so,) by the infinitely superior facility and rapidity of its operation. Hence the gradual decay, and almost extinction among us, of this old art, of which former ages have left us so many beautiful specimens. It is said to survive now, if at all, not among our artists by profession, whose taste is expended upon higher objects, but among the common workmen of our villages, who have pursued it as an amusement, long after it has ceased to be profitable.

Carved Boxes.

The New Zealand artist has no lathe to compete with; but neither has he even those ordinary hand-

tools which every civilized country has always afforded. The only instruments he has to cut with are rudely fashioned of stone or bone. Yet even with these, his skill and patient perseverance contrive to grave the wood into any forms which his fancy may suggest. Many of the carvings thus produced are distinguished by both a grace and richness of design, that would do no discredit even to European art. The preceding figure represents a box with its lid, and another ornamental article, now in the British Museum.

The war-canoes of the New Zealanders, which are sometimes from sixty to eighty feet in length, and capable of containing two hundred individuals, have their heads and sterns, in general, elaborately carved. The following is a representation of this species of ornamental work from a drawing in the British Museum:



Head of a Canoe.

The considerations by which the New Zealanders are directed in choosing the sites of their villages are the same which usually regulate that matter among other savages. The North American Indians, for example, generally build their huts on the sides of some moderately sized hill, that they may have the advantage of the ground in case of being attacked by their enemies, or on the bank of a river, which may, in such an emergency, serve them for a natural moat*. A situation in which they are protected by the water on more sides than one is preferred; and, accordingly, both on this account, and for the sake of being near the sea, which supplies them with fish, the New Zealanders and other savage tribes are much accustomed to establish themselves at the mouths of rivers. Among the American Indians, as in New Zealand, a piece of ground is always left unoccupied in the middle of the village, or contiguous to it, for the holding of public assemblies †. So, also, it used to be in our own country, almost every village in which had anciently its common, and its central open space; the latter of which, after the introduction of Christianity, was generally decorated by the erection of a cross. It is curious to remark how the genius of commerce—the predominating influence of a more civilized age—has seized upon more than one of these provisions of the old state of society, and converted them to its own purposes. The spacious area around the village cross, or the adjacent common, has been changed into the scene of the fair or the daily market; and the vicinity of the sea, or the navigable river, no longer needed as a protection against the attacks of surrounding enemies, has been taken advantage of to let in the wealth of many distant climes, and to metamorphose the straggling assemblage of mud

* Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains, par le Père Lafitau, vol. iii. p. 3.

† Ibid.

cottages into a thronged and wide-spread city—the proud abode of industry, wealth, elegance, and letters.

Rutherford states, that the baskets in which the provisions are served up are never used twice; and the same thing is remarked by Captain Cruise*. The calabash, Rutherford adds, is the only vessel they have for holding any kind of liquid; and when they drink out of it, they never permit it to touch their lips, but hold their face up, and pour the liquor into their mouth. After dinner, they place themselves for

Drinking from a Calabash.

this purpose in a row, when a slave goes from one to another with the calabash, and each holds his hand under his chin as the liquor is poured by the slave into his mouth. They never drink anything hot or warm. Indeed, their only beverage appears to be water; and their strong aversion to wine and

* Journal, p. 108.

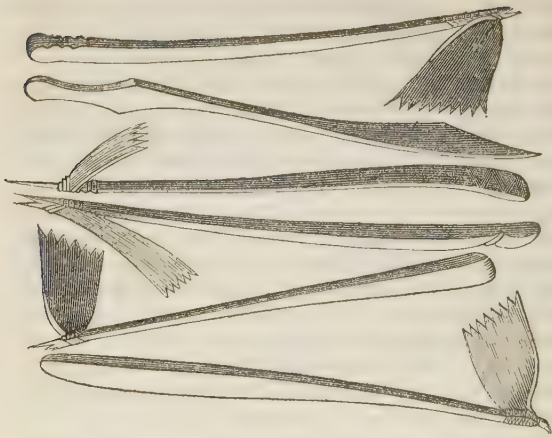
spirits is noticed by almost all who have described their manners Tetoro, one of the chiefs who returned from Port Jackson in the Dromedary, was sometimes admitted, during the passage, into the cabin, and asked by the officers to take a glass of wine, when he always tasted it, with perfect politeness, though his countenance strongly indicated how much he disliked it*. George of Wangarooa, the chief who headed the attack on the Boyd, was the only New Zealander that Captain Cruise met with who could be induced to taste grog without reluctance; and he really liked it, though a very small quantity made him drunk, in which state he was quite outrageous†. His natural habits had been vitiated by having served for some time in an English ship.

It is probable, however, that the sobriety of this people has been hitherto principally preserved, by their ignorance of the mode of manufacturing any intoxicating beverage. Even the females, it would appear, have some of them of late years learned the habit of drinking grog from the English sailors; and Captain Dillon gives us an account of a priestess, who visited him on board the Research, and who having, among several other somewhat indecorous requests, demanded a tumbler of rum, quaffed off the whole at a draught as soon as it was set before her.

Dinner being finished, Rutherford and his companions spent the evening seated around a large fire, while several of the women, whose countenances he describes as pleasing, amused themselves by playing with the fingers of the strangers, sometimes opening their shirts at the breasts, and at other times feeling the calves of their legs, "which made us think," says Rutherford, "that they were examining us to see if we were fat enough for eating." "The large fire," he continues, "that had been made to warm

* Journal, p. 13. See also Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 301.
† Id. p. 307.

the house, being now put out, we retired to rest in the usual manner; but although the fire had been extinguished, the house was still filled with smoke, the door being shut, and there being neither chimney nor window to let it out. In the morning, when we arose, the chief gave us back our knives and tobacco-boxes, which they had taken from us while in the canoe, on our first being made prisoners; and we then breakfasted on some potatoes and cockles, which had been cooked while we were at the sea-coast, and brought thence in baskets. Aimy's wife and two daughters now arrived, which occasioned another grand crying ceremony; and when it was over, the three ladies came to look at me and my companions. In a short time, they took a fancy to some small gilt buttons which I had on my waistcoat; and Aimy making a sign for me to cut them off, I immediately did so, and presented them for their acceptance. They received them very gladly, and, shaking hands with me, exclaimed, The white man is very good. The whole of the natives having then seated themselves on the ground in a ring, we were brought into the middle, and, being stripped of our clothes, and laid on our backs, we were each of us held down by five or six men, while two others commenced the operation of tattooing us. Having taken a piece of charcoal, and rubbed it upon a stone with a little water until they had produced a thickish liquid, they then dipped into it an instrument made of bone, having a sharp edge like a chisel, and shaped in the fashion of a garden-hoe, and immediately applied it to the skin, striking it twice or thrice with a small piece of wood. This made it cut into the flesh as a knife would have done, and caused a great deal of blood to flow, which they kept wiping off with the side of the hand, in order to see if the impression was sufficiently clear. When it was not, they applied the bone a second time



Tattooing Instruments.

to the same place. They employed, however, various instruments in the course of the operation; one which they sometimes used being made of a shark's tooth, and another having teeth like a saw. They had them also of different sizes, to suit the different parts of the work. While I was undergoing this operation, although the pain was most acute, I never either moved or uttered a sound; but my comrades moaned dreadfully. Although the operators were very quick and dexterous, I was four hours under their hands; and during the operation Aimy's eldest daughter several times wiped the blood from my face with some dressed flax. After it was over she led me to the river, that I might wash myself (for it had made me completely blind), and then conducted me to a great fire. They now returned us all our clothes, with the exception of our shirts, which the women kept for themselves, wearing

them, as we observed, with the fronts behind. We were now not only tattooed, but what they called *tabooed*, the meaning of which is, made sacred, or forbidden to touch any provisions of any kind with our hands. This state of things lasted for three days, during which time we were fed by the daughters of the chiefs, with the same victuals, and out of the same baskets, as the chiefs themselves, and the persons who had tattooed us. In three days, the swelling which had been produced by the operation had greatly subsided, and I began to recover my sight; but it was six weeks before I was completely well. I had no medical assistance of any kind during my illness; but Aimy's two daughters were very attentive to me, and would frequently sit beside me, and talk to me in their language, of which as yet, however, I did not understand much."

The custom of marking the skin, here called *tattooing*, is one of the most widely-diffused practices of savage life, having been found, even in modern times, to exist, in one modification or another, not only in most of the inhabited lands of the Pacific, from New Zealand as far north as the Sandwich Isles, but also among many of the aboriginal tribes both of Africa and America. In the ancient world it appears to have been at least equally prevalent. It is evidently alluded to, as well as the other practice that has just been noticed of wounding the body by way of mourning, in the twenty-eighth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, among the laws delivered to the Israelites through Moses:—"Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you;" both of these being doubtless habits of the surrounding nations, which the chosen people, according to their usual propensity, had shewn a disposition to imitate. The few civilized communities of antiquity seem to have been

all of them both singularly incurious as to the manners and condition of the barbarous races by whom they were on all sides so closely encompassed, and, as might be expected, extremely ill-informed on the subject;—so much so, as has been remarked by an author who has written on this topic with admirable learning and ability, that when Hanno, the Carthaginian, returned from his investigation of a small part of the west coast of Africa, he had no difficulty in making his countrymen believe that two hides, with the hair still on, which he brought back with him, and which he had taken from two large apes, were actually the skins of savage women, and deserving of being suspended in the temple of Juno as most uncommon curiosities*. But little as these matters seem in general to have attracted the attention of the ancient writers, their works still contain many notices of the practice of tattooing. We may cite only one or two of a considerable number that have been collected by Lafitau, although even his enumeration might be easily extended. Herodotus mentions it as prevailing among the Thracians, certain of whom, he says, exhibit such marks on their faces as an indication of their nobility. Other authors speak of it as a practice of the Scythians, the Agathyrses, and the Assyrians. Cæsar remarks it as prevailing among the Britons; and there can be no doubt that the term *Picti* was merely a name given to those more northerly tribes of our countrymen who retained this custom after it had

* Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains, tom. i., p. 95. The authority which Lafitau quotes is the *History of Charles VI.*, by Jean Juvenal des Ursins. But the circumstance of Hanno having brought home the two skins is mentioned by Pliny the Elder, lib. vi., cap. 31. He asserts that they belonged to people of a nation called the Gorgones, and that they were deposited in the temple of Juno, where they were to be seen till the destruction of Carthage.

fallen into decay among their southern brethren (who were in reality of the same race with themselves), under the ascendancy of the arts and manners of their Roman conquerors *. The Britons, according to Cæsar, painted their skins to make themselves objects of greater terror to their enemies; but it is not unlikely that the real object of these decorations was with them, as it appears to have been among the other barbarous nations of antiquity, to denote certain ranks of nobility or chieftainship: and thus to serve, in fact, nearly the same purpose with our modern coats of arms. Pliny states that the dye with which the Britons stained themselves was that of an herb called *glastum*, which is understood to be the same with plantain. They introduced the juice of this herb into punctures previously made in the skin, so as to form permanent delineations of various animals, and other objects, on different parts of the body. The operation, which seems to have been performed by regular artists, is said to have been commonly undergone in boyhood; and a stoical endurance of the pain which it inflicted was considered one of the best proofs the sufferer could give of his resolution and manliness.

Among the Indians of America, some races are much more tattooed than others, and some scarcely at all. It is stated that, among the Iroquois, only a few of the women are in the habit of tracing a single row of this sort of embroidery along the jaw; and that merely with the intent of curing or preventing tooth-ache, an effect which they conceive is produced by the punctures destroying certain nerves †. It appears to be the general practice in America, first to finish the cutting, or graving of the lines, and

* See this point ably cleared up in 'Thoughts on the Origin and Descent of the Gael, by James Grant, Esq.,' p. 266, &c.

† Lafitau, tom. iii. p. 39.

afterwards to introduce the colouring, which is commonly made of pulverized charcoal. This last part of the operation occasions by far the greatest pain *. Among the native tribes of Southern Africa, the fashion is merely to raise the epidermis by a slight pricking, which is described as affording rather a pleasurable excitement †.

These marks upon the skin appear to be known in most of the South Sea Islands by the name of *tattoo* or *tattow;* but in some places that term is not found, even while the custom is generally prevalent. Thus, in the Pellew Islands, for example, *melgoth* is the word used ‡. Tattoo is evidently a derivative, by a mode of reduplication extremely common, from the verb *Ta*, to strike, which is found at least in the Tongese, and very probably in many other dialects of the great Polynesian language §. The word, therefore, properly signifies that which is made by striking as with a mallet; which is an exact description of the operation as usually performed. At the Society Isles these marks, according to Cook ||, were so general, that hardly any body was to be seen without them. Persons of both sexes were commonly tattooed about the age of twelve or fourteen; and the decorations, which Cook imagined to vary according to the fancy, or perhaps (which is more likely) the rank of the individual, were liberally bestowed upon every part of the body, with the exception, however, of the face, which was generally left unmarked. They consisted not only of squares, circles, and other such figures, but frequently also of

* Lafitau, tom. iii. p. 35. † Barrow's Travels.

‡ Keate's Account of the Pellew Islands, chap. 26.

§ See vocabulary at the end of volume second of Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands. This term "tattoo," considered as significant of striking or beating, presents a curious similarity to our own tattoo, a particular beat on the drum.

|| First Voyage, ii. 191.

rude delineations of men, birds, dogs, and other animals. Mr. Banks saw the operation performed on a girl of about thirteen years of age, who was held down all the while by several women, and both struggled hard and made no little outcry as the artist proceeded with his labours. Yet it would seem that the process in use here is considerably more gentle than that practised in New Zealand; for the punctures, Cook affirms, could hardly be said to draw blood. Being inflicted by means of an instrument with small teeth, somewhat resembling a fine comb, the effect produced would be rather a pricking, than a cutting, or carving, of the flesh. Unlike what we have seen to be the practice among the American savages, the tincture was here introduced by the same blow by which the skin was punctured. The substance employed was a species of lamp black, formed of the smoke of an oily nut which the natives burned to give them light. The practice of tattooing is now, we believe, discontinued at Otaheite; but the progress of civilization has not yet altogether banished it at the Sandwich Islands. When Lord Byron was at Hawaii, (Cook's Owhyhee,) in 1825, he found it used as a mark of mourning, though some still had themselves tattooed merely by way of ornament. On the death of one of the late kings of the island, it is stated that all the chiefs had his name and the date of his death engraved in this manner on their arms. The ladies here, it seems, follow the very singular practice of tattooing the tips of their tongues, in memory of their departed friends *. In the Tonga, or Friendly Islands, it would appear, from Mr. Mariner's very minute description of the operation as there practised †, that, as at Otaheite and elsewhere, the instrument used is always a sort

* Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, p. 136.

† Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands, vol. ii.

of comb, having from six up to fifty or sixty teeth. There are, Mr. Mariner tells us, certain patterns or forms of the tattoo, and the individual may choose which he likes. On the brown skins of the natives the marks, which are imprinted by means of a tincture made of soot, have a black appearance; but on that of an European, their colour is a fine blue. The women here are not tattooed, though a few of them have some marks on the inside of their fingers. At the Fiji Islands, on the contrary, in the neighbourhood of the Tonga group, the men are not tattooed, but the women are.

The term tattoo is not known in New Zealand, the name given to the marks, which are elsewhere so called, being in this country Moko, or, as it has been more generally written, from a habit which the natives seem to have of prefixing the sound *A* to many of their words *, Amoco. The description which Rutherford gives of the process agrees entirely with what has been stated by other observers; although it certainly has been generally understood that, in no case, was the whole operation undergone at once, as it would, however, appear to have been in his. Both Captain Cruise and Mr. Marsden expressly state, that, according to their information, it always required several months, and sometimes several years, to tattoo a chief perfectly †; owing to the necessity of one part of the face or body being allowed to heal before commencing the decoration of another. Perhaps, however, this prolongation of the process may only be necessary when the amoco is of a more intricate pattern, or extends over a larger portion of the person, than that which Rutherford received; or, in his peculiar circumstances, it may

* This Rutherford notices.

† Cruise's Journal, p. 278. Marsden's Journal of Second Visit, p. 304. See also Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 360.

have been determined that he should have his powers of endurance put to still harder proof than a native would have been required to submit to in undergoing the same ceremony. The portrait of Rutherford accurately represents the tattooing on his body. Captain Cruise asserts, that the tattooing in New Zealand is renewed occasionally, as the lines become fainter by time, to the latest period of life*; and that one of the chiefs who returned home in the Dromedary was re-tattooed soon after his arrival.

From Rutherford's account (and he is corroborated as to that point by all the other authorities) it will be perceived, that the operation of tattooing is one of a still more severe and sanguinary description in New Zealand, than it would seem to be in any of the other islands of the South Sea; for it is performed here, not merely by means of a sort of fine comb, which merely pricks the skin, and draws from it a little serum slightly tinged with blood, but also by an instrument of the nature of a chisel, which at every application makes an incision into the flesh, and causes the blood to start forth in gushes. This chisel is sometimes nearly a quarter of an inch broad, although, for the more minute parts of the figure, a smaller instrument is used†. The stick with which the chisel is struck, is occasionally formed into a broad blade at one end, which is applied to wipe away the blood ‡. The tincture is said to be sometimes obtained from the juice of a particular tree §. Rutherford has omitted to mention, that, before the cutting has begun, the figure is traced out upon the place; but this appears to be always done in New

* Cruise's Journal, p. 278.

† Marsden and Cruise, ibid. ‡ Marsden, ibid.

§ Ibid.; vide also Savage's Account of New Zealand, p. 46.

Zealand, as well as elsewhere, a piece of burnt stick or red earth being, according to Mr. Savage *, used for the purpose. Some are tattooed at eight or ten years of age †; but a young man is accounted very effeminate, who reaches his twentieth year without having undergone the operation ‡. Mr. Marsden told one of the chiefs, King George, as he was called, that he must not tattoo his nephew Racow, who was a very fine looking youth, with a dignified, open, and placid countenance, remarking that it would quite disfigure his face; "but he laughed at my advice," says Mr. Marsden, "and said he must be tattooed, as it would give him a noble, masculine, and warlike appearance; that he would not be fit for his successor with a smooth face; the New Zealanders would look on him merely as a woman, if he was not tattooed §." Mr. Savage says, that a small spiral figure on each side of the chin, a semicircular figure over each eyebrow, and two, or sometimes three lines on each lip, are all the tattooing the New Zealand women are required to submit to ||. Rutherford's account is, that they have a figure tattooed on the chin, resembling a crown turned upside down; that the inside of their lips is also tattooed, the figures here appearing of a blue colour; and that they have also a mark on each side of the mouth resembling a candlestick, as well as two stripes about an inch long on the forehead, and one on each side of the nose. Their decorations of this description, as well as those of the other sex, are no doubt different in different parts of the country. "With respect to the amocos," says Captain Cook in his First Voyage, "every dif-

* Account of New Zealand, p. 46. † Ibid.
‡ Cruise's Journal, p. 278.
§ Journal of Second Visit, p. 294.
|| Account of New Zealand, p. 47. Cook says the women have the puncture only on their lips, or a small spot on their chins.

ferent tribe seemed to have a different custom; for all the men in some canoes seemed to be almost covered with it, and those in others had scarcely a stain, except on the lips, which were black in all of them, without a single exception *." Rutherford states, that in the part of the country where he was, the men were commonly tattooed on their face, hips, and body, and some as low as the knee. None were allowed to be tattooed on the forehead, chin, and upper lip, except the very greatest among the chiefs. The more they are tattooed, he adds, the more they are honoured. The priests, Mr. Savage says, have only a small square patch of tattooing over the right eye †.

These stains, although their brilliancy may perhaps decay with time, being thus fixed in the flesh, are of course indelible—just as much as the marks of a similar nature which our own sailors frequently make on their arms and breasts, by introducing gunpowder under the skin. One effect, we are told, which they produce on the countenances of the New Zealanders, is to conceal the ravages of old age ‡. Being thus permanent when once imprinted, each becomes also the peculiar distinction of the individual to whom it belongs, and is probably sometimes employed by him as his mark or sign manual. An officer belonging to the Dromedary, who happened to have a coat of arms engraved on his seal, was frequently asked by the New Zealanders, if the device was his amoco §. When the missionaries purchased a piece of land, from one of the Bay of Islands chiefs, named Gunnah, a copy of the tattooing on the face of the latter, being drawn by a brother chief, was affixed to the grant as his signature; while another native signed as a witness, by adding the amoco of

* Cook's First Voyage, ii. p. 360.
† Account of New Zealand, p. 47.
‡ Cruise's Journal, p. 278. § Id. p. 59.

one of his own cheeks*. This is certainly a more perfect substitute for a written name than that said to have been anciently in use in some parts of Europe. In Russia, for example, it is affirmed that in old times, the way in which an individual generally gave his signature to a writing, was by covering the palm of his hand with ink, and then laying it on the paper. M. Balbi, who states this†, adds that the Russian language still retains an evidence of the practice in its phrase for *signing* a document, which is *roukou prilojite*, signifying, literally, to put the hand to it. It may be remarked, however, that this is a form of expression even in our own country; although there is certainly no trace of the singular custom in question having ever prevailed among our ancestors. Whatever may be the fact as to the Russian idiom, our own undoubtedly refers merely to the application of the hand with the pen in it. Each chief appears to be intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of his own amoco. Mr. Nicholas gives us in his work ‡ a facsimile of the tattooing on the countenance of a chief called Themorangha, as drawn by himself with a pen, which he then handled for the first time in his life. The following is a specimen of this sort of signature;

* Nicholas's Voyage, ii. 193. Copies of these curious signatures are given in the Missionary Register for 1816, pp. 328, 329.

† Introduction a l'Atlas Ethnographique, p. lxii.

‡ Nicholas's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 217.

and we shall give a more remarkable one in a subsequent chapter. There is also in the possession of the Church Missionary Society a bust of Shungie, cut in a very hard wood by himself, with a rude iron instrument of his own fabrication, on which the tattooing on his face is exactly copied *.

Bust of Shungie, from a carving by himself.

The tattooing of the young New Zealander, before he takes his rank as one of the warriors of his tribe, is doubtless also intended to put his manhood to the proof; and may thus be regarded as having the

* See Missionary Register for 1816, p. 524, where an engraving of the bust is given, from which the above copy is taken. It is also engraved in the first volume of Ellis's Polynesian Researches.

same object with those ceremonies of Initiation, as they have been called, which are practised among some other savage nations on the admission of an individual to any new degree of honour or chieftainship*. Among many nations of the American Indians, indeed, this cutting and marking of the person is one of the principal inflictions to which the aspirant is required to submit on such occasions. Thus, in the account which Rochefort, in his History of the Antilles †, gives us of the initiation of a warrior among the people of those islands, it is stated that the father of the young man, after a very rude flagellation of his son, used to proceed to scarify (as he expresses it) his whole body with a tooth of the animal called the *acouti* ‡; and then, in order to heal the gashes thus made, he rubbed into them an infusion of pimento, which occasioned an agonizing pain to the poor patient: but it was indispensable that he should endure the whole, adds our author, without the least contortion of countenance or any other evidence of suffering. Wherever, indeed, the spirit of war has entered largely into the institutions of a people, as it has almost always done among savage and imperfectly civilized nations, we find traces of similar observances. Something of the same object which has just been attributed to the tattooing of the New Zealanders, and the more complicated ceremonies of initiation practised among the American Indians, may be recognized even in certain of the rites of European chivalry, whether we take

* See a very learned and ample account of these initiations, as practised both in ancient and modern times, in Lafitau, vol. i. p. 201-256, and vol. ii. p. 1-55.

† P. 108, as quoted by Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 15.

‡ In his *Histoire Naturelle des Isles Antilles*, Rochefort describes the Acouti, and states, that its teeth cut like a razor. See the passage in Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 236.

them as described in the learned volumes of Du Cange, or in the more amusing recitals of Cervantes.

The New Zealanders, like many other savages, are also in the habit of anointing themselves with a mixture of grease and red ochre. This sort of rouge is very much used by the women, and "being generally," says Cook, "fresh and wet upon their cheeks and foreheads, was easily transferred to the noses of those who thought fit to salute them; and that they were not wholly averse to such familiarity, the noses of several of our people strongly testified." "The faces of the men," he adds, "were not so generally painted; yet we saw one, whose whole body, and even his garments, were rubbed over with dry ochre, of which he kept a piece constantly in his hand, and was every minute renewing the decoration in one part or another, where he supposed it was become deficient*."

It has been conjectured, that this painting of the body, among its other uses, might also be intended, in some cases, as a protection against the weather, or, in other words, to serve the same purpose as clothing. Even where there is no plastering, the tattooing may be found to indurate the skin, and to render it less sensible to cold. This notion, perhaps, derives some confirmation from the appearance which these marks often assume. Cook describes some of the New Zealanders, whom he saw on his first visit to the country, as having their thighs stained entirely black, with the exception only of a few narrow lines, "so that at first sight," says he, "they appeared to wear striped breeches†." The Baron de Humboldt, too, informs us, that the Indians of Guiana sometimes imitate, in the oddest manner, the clothes of Europeans in painting their skin. This observant

* Cook's First Voyage, ii. 314. † Id. vol. ii.

traveller was much amused by seeing the body of a native painted to represent a blue jacket and black buttons. The missionaries also told him that the people of the Rio Caura paint themselves of a red ground, and then variegate the colour with transverse stripes of silver mica, so that they look most gallantly dressed*. The painted cheeks that were once common in Europe, and are still occasionally seen, are relics of the same barbarism.

The *taboo,* or *tapu*, prevails also in many of the South Sea islands, where it may be considered as the substitute for law; although its authority, in reality, rests on what we should rather call religious considerations, inasmuch as it appears to be obeyed entirely from the apprehension that its violation would bring down the anger of heaven. It would require more space than we can afford, to enumerate the various cases in which the taboo operates as a matter of course, even were we to say nothing of the numerous exigencies in which a resort to it seems to be at the option of the parties concerned. Among the former, we may merely mention, that a person supposed to be dying seems to be uniformly placed under the taboo; and that the like consecration, if it may be so called, is always imposed for a certain space upon the individual who has undergone any part of the process of tattooing. But we are by no means fully informed either as to the exact rules that govern this matter, or even as to the peculiar description of persons to whom it belongs, on any occasion, to impose the taboo †. It is common in New Zealand for

* Voyage aux Regions Equinoctiales, t. vi. p. 330.

† Perhaps the fullest account that has been given of the taboo, is to be found in Mariner's Tonga Islands. See particularly vol. ii. p. 220. The different Missionary Reports also supply us with a good deal of information on the subject. But it is to be remembered, that the rules of the taboo, as observed among one people, differ greatly from those which are found in force among another.

such of the chiefs as possess this power, to separate, by means of the taboo, any thing which they wish either to appropriate to themselves, or to protect, with any other object, from indiscriminate use. When Tetoro, whom we have already mentioned, was shewn, in the Dromedary, a double-barrelled fowling-piece, belonging to one of the officers, he tabooed it by tying a thread, pulled out of his cloak, round the guard of the trigger, and said that it must be his when he got to New Zealand, and that the owner should have thirty of his finest mats for it *. But this, according to Captain Cruise, any native may do with regard to an article for which he has bargained, in order to secure it till he has paid the price agreed upon †. On another occasion, Captain Cruise found a number of people collected round an object which seemed to attract general attention, and which they told him was tabooed. It turned out to be a plant of the common English pea, which was fenced round with little sticks, and had apparently been tended with very anxious care ‡. When the Prince Regent schooner, which accompanied the Dromedary, lay at anchor in the river Shukehanga, a chief named Moodooi, greatly to the comfort of the captain, came one day on deck and tabooed the vessel, or made it a crime for any one to ascend the side without permission, which injunction was strictly attended to by the natives, during her stay in the harbour §. So, when any land is purchased, it is secured to the purchaser by being tabooed. Mr. Marsden states, that upon one occasion he found a great number of canoes employed in fishing, and all the fish which they took were immediately tabooed, and could not be purchased ||. These fish were proba-

* Cruise's Journal, p. 8. † Id. p. 307. ‡ Id. p. 222.
§ Id. p. 88. || Journal of Second Visit, p. 283.

bly intended to be cured, and preserved as part of the common stock of the tribe.

The principal inconveniences sustained by the person who is tabooed seem to be, that he must have no communication with any who are not in the same condition as himself, and that in eating he must not help himself to his food with his hands. The chiefs are in such a case fed by their attendant; but the absurd prohibition is a serious punishment to the common people, who have nobody to assist them. Mr. Nicholas relates an amusing incident illustrative of this. "On going into the town," says he, "in the course of the day, I beheld several of the natives sitting round some baskets of dressed potatoes; and being invited to join them in their meal, I mingled with the group, when I observed one man stoop down with his mouth for each morsel, and scrupulously careful in avoiding all contact between his hands and the food he was eating. From this I knew at once that he was tabooed; and upon asking the reason of his being so, as he appeared in good health, and not afflicted with any complaint that could set him without the pale of ordinary intercourse, I found that it was because he was then building a house, and that he could not be released from the taboo till he had it finished. Being only a *cookee**, he had no person to wait upon him, but was obliged to submit to the distressing operation of feeding himself in the manner prescribed by the superstitious ordinance; and he was told by the *tohunga*, or priest, that if he pre-

* Cookee is the term generally used for a slave, in the recent accounts of New Zealand; but it does not appear whether it is a native word, or a formation from the English *cook*—a profession which the New Zealanders hold in the greatest contempt, and look upon as only fit for slaves. We do not find the word in Professor Lee's Vocabulary, already referred to.

sumed to put one finger to his mouth before he had completed the work he was about, the Atua (divinity) would certainly punish his impious contempt, by getting into his stomach before his time, and eating him out of the world. Of this premature destiny he seemed so apprehensive, that he kept his hands as though they were never made for touching any article of diet; nor did he suffer them by even a single motion to shew the least sympathy for his mouth, while that organ was obliged to use double exertions, and act for those members which superstition had paralyzed. Sitting down by the side of this deluded being, whom credulity and ignorance had rendered helpless, I undertook to feed him; and his appetite being quite voracious, I could hardly supply it as fast as he devoured. Without ever consulting his digestive powers, of which we cannot suppose he had any idea, he spared himself the trouble of mastication; and, to lose no time, swallowed down every lump as I put it into his mouth: and I speak within compass, when I assert that he consumed more food than would have served any two ploughmen in England. Perfectly tired of administering to his insatiable gluttony, which was still as ravenous as when he commenced, I now wished for a little intermission; and taking advantage of his situation, I resolved to give him as much to do as would employ him for at least a few minutes, while, in the meantime, it would afford me some amusement for my trouble. I therefore thrust into his mouth the largest hot potatoe I could find, and this had exactly the intended effect; for the fellow, unwilling to drop it, and not daring to penetrate it before it should get cool, held it slightly compressed between his teeth, to the great enjoyment of his countrymen, who laughed heartily as well as myself, at the wry faces he made, and the efforts he used with his tongue to

moderate the heat of the potatoe, and bring it to the temperature of his gums, which were evidently smarting from the contact. But he bore this trick with the greatest possible good humour, and to make him amends for it, I took care to supply him plentifully, till he cried out, *Nuce nuce kiki*, and could eat no more; an exclamation, however, which he did not make till there was no more in the baskets*."

* Nicholas's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 176.

Chapter VII.

Continuation of Journey into the Interior.—Aimy's Village.—Origin of the New Zealanders.—Appearance.—Dress.—Food.—Agriculture.—Face of the Country.—Climate.—Soil.—Productions.—Harvest.—Trees.—Flax Spinning.—Weaving.—Minerals.—Quadrupeds.—Birds.—Fishes.

Rutherford remained at this village for about six months, together with the others who had been taken prisoners with him and not put to death, all except one, John Watson, who, soon after their arrival here, was carried away by a chief named Nainy. A house was assigned for them to live in, and the natives gave them also an iron pot they had taken from the ship, in which to cook their victuals. This they found a very useful article. It was tabooed, so that no slave was allowed to eat anything cooked in it; that, we suppose, being considered the surest way of preventing it from being stolen. At last they set out in company with Aimy and another chief, to pursue their journey further into the interior; one of them, however, whose name is not given, remaining with Rangadi. Having come to another village, the chief of which was called Plama, another of them, whose name was John Smith, was left with him. The number of those preserved alive, it will be recollected, was six; so that, three of them having been disposed of in the manner that has been stated, there were now, including Rutherford, as many more remaining together. When they had travelled about twelve miles further, they stopped at a third village, and here they remained two days. "We were

treated very kindly," says Rutherford, "at this village by the natives. The chief, whose name was Ewanna, made us a present of a large pig, which we killed after our own country fashion, not a little to the surprise of the New Zealanders. I observed many of the children catch the flowing blood in their hands, and drink it with the greatest eagerness. Their own method of killing a pig is generally by drowning, in order that they may not lose the blood. The natives then singed off the hair for us, by holding the animal over a fire, and also gutted it, desiring nothing but the entrails for their trouble. We cooked it in our iron pot, which the slaves who followed us had brought along with the rest of the lug gage belonging to our party. No person was allowed to take any part of the pig unless he received some from us; and not even then, if he did not belong to a chief's family. On taking our departure from this village, we left with Ewanna one of our comrades named Jefferson, who, on parting with us, pressed my hand in his, and with tears in his eyes, exclaimed, 'God bless you both! we shall never see each other again.' We proceeded on our journey, in company with Aimy and his family, and another chief; and having walked about two miles without one word being spoken by any of the party, we arrived at the side of a river. Here we stopped, and lighted a fire; and the natives who had charge of the luggage having come up in about an hour, bringing with them some potatoes and dried fish, we cooked a dinner for ourselves in the usual manner. We then crossed the river, which was only about knee deep, and immediately entered a wood, through which we continued to make our way till sunset. On getting out of it we found ourselves in the midst of some cultivated ground, on which we saw growing potatoes, turnips, cabbage, tara (which is a

root resembling a yam), water-melons, and coomeras, or sweet potatoes. After a little while we arrived at another river, on the opposite side of which stood the village in which Aimy resided. Having got into a canoe, we crossed over to the village, in front of which many women were standing, who, waving their mats, exclaimed, as they saw us approaching, *Arami arami**, which means, Welcome home. We were then taken to Aimy's house, which was the largest in the village, and built in the usual manner, having the walls formed of large twigs covered with rushes, with which it was also thatched. A pig was now killed for us, and cooked with some coomeras, from which we supped;

New Zealand Hut and Fence of Garden.

* That is, *Aire mai*, literally, Come hither. In Rutherford's orthography the *i*, it will be observed, has its long English sound, as in *high*. This sound Professor Lee has represented by the combination *ai*. Cook writes the salutation, *Haromai*.

and, afterwards seating ourselves around the fire, we amused ourselves by listening to several of the women singing. In the mean time, a slave girl was killed, and put into a hole in the earth to roast in the manner already described, in order to furnish a feast the following day, in honour of the chief's return home. We slept that night in the chief's house ; but the next morning a number of the natives were set to work to build us one for ourselves, of the same form with that in which the chief lived, and nearly of the same size. In the course of this day, many other chiefs arrived at the village, accompanied by their families and slaves, to welcome Aimy home, which they did in the usual manner. Some of them brought with them a quantity of water-melons, which they gave to me and my comrade. At last they all seated themselves upon the ground to have their feast,— several large pigs, together with some scores of baskets of potatoes, tara, and water-melons, having first been brought forward by Aimy's people. The pigs, after being drowned in the river and dressed, had been laid to roast beside the potatoes. When these were eaten, the fire that had been made the night before, was opened, and the body of the slave girl taken out of it, which they next proceeded to feast upon in the eagerest manner. We were not asked to partake of it, for Aimy knew that we had refused to eat human flesh before. After the feast was over, the fragments were collected, and carried home by the slaves of the different chiefs, according to the custom which is always observed on such occasions in New Zealand."

The house that had been ordered to be built for Rutherford and his companion was ready in about a week ; and having taken up their abode in it, they were permitted to live, as far as circumstances would allow, according to their own customs. As it was

in this village that Rutherford continued to reside during the remainder of the time he spent in New Zealand, we may consider him as now fairly domesticated among his new associates, and may therefore conveniently take the present opportunity of completing our general picture of the country and its inhabitants, by adverting to a few matters which have not yet found a place in our narrative.

No doubt whatever can exist as to the relationship of the New Zealanders to the numerous other tribes of the same complexion, by whom nearly all the islands of the South Sea are peopled, and who, in physical conformation, language, religion, institutions, and habits, evidently constitute only one great family. Recent investigations, likewise, must be considered to have sufficiently proved, that the wave of population, which has spread itself over so large a portion of the surface of the globe, has flowed from the same central region which all history points to as the cradle of our race, and which may be here described generally as the southern tract of the great continent of Asia. This prolific clime, while it has on the one hand sent out its successive detachments of emigrants to occupy the wide plains of Europe, has on the other discharged its overflowing numbers upon the islands of the Pacific, and, with the exception of New Holland and a few other lands in its immediate vicinity, the population of which seems to be of African origin, has, in this way, gradually spread a race of common parentage over all of them, from those that constitute what has been called the great Indian Archipelago, in the immediate neighbourhood of China, to the Sandwich Isles and Easter Island, in the remotest east of that immense expanse of waters. The Malay language is spoken, although in many different dialects and degrees of corruption, through-

out the whole of this extensive range, which, measured in one direction, stretches over nearly half the equatorial circumference of the globe, and in another over at least seventy degrees of latitude. The people are all also of the same brown or copper complexion, by which the Malay is distinguished from the white man on the one hand, and the negro on the other.

In New Zealand, however, as, indeed, in most of the other seats of this race, the inhabitants are distinguished from each other by a very considerable diversity in the shades of what may be called the common hue. Crozet was so much struck with this circumstance, that he does not hesitate to divide them into three classes—whites, browns, and blacks,—the last of whom he conceives to be a foreign admixture received from the neighbouring continent of New Holland, and who, by their union with the whites, the original inhabitants of the country, and still decidedly the prevalent race, have produced those of the intermediate colour *. Whatever may be thought of this hypothesis, it is certain that in some parts of New Zealand the natives are much fairer than in others. Cook remarks, in the account of his first voyage, that the people about the Bay of Islands seemed darker than those he had seen further to the south †; and their colour generally is afterwards described as varying from a pretty deep black to a yellowish or olive tinge ‡. In like manner, Mr. Marsden states that the people in the neighbourhood of the Shukehanga are much fairer than those on the east coast §. It may also, perhaps, be considered some

* Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud, pp. 52 and 137. It is to be observed, however, that by *white* M. Crozet means here a complexion no darker than that of the people in the south of Europe. Vide p. 138. This is nearly the genuine Malay hue. He saw only a few New Zealanders as white as the French.

† Cook's First Voyage. ‡ Cook's Third Voyage.

§ Journal of Second Visit, p. 292.

confirmation of Crozet's opinion as to the origin of the darkest coloured portion of the population, that those who come under this description are asserted to be characterized, in addition, by the other negro peculiarity of a diminutive stature*.

In general, however, the New Zealanders are a tall race of men, many of the individuals belonging to the upper classes being six feet high and upwards. They are also described as strong, active, and almost uniformly well-shaped. Their hair is commonly straight, but sometimes curly: Crozet says he saw a few of them with red hair. Cook describes the females as far from attractive; but other observers give a more flattering account of them. Mr. Savage, for example, assures us that their features are regular and pleasing; and he seems to have been much struck by their "long black hair and dark penetrating eyes," as well as "their well-formed figure, the interesting cast of their countenance, and the sweet tone of their voice†." Captain Cruise's testimony is almost equally favorable.

The dress of the two sexes is exactly the same, and consists of an inner mat or tunic, fastened by a girdle round their waists, and an upper cloak, which is made of very coarse materials for ordinary wear, but is of a much finer fabric, and often, indeed, elaborately ornamented, when intended for occasions of display. Both these articles of attire are always made of the native flax, of which we shall immediately give an account. The New Zealanders wear no covering either for the head or the feet, the feathers with which both sexes ornament the head being excepted.

* Cruise's Journal, p. 727. Crozet also mentions this circumstance; but as he adduces it in support of a particular hypothesis, it is desirable to have it on other authority.

† Savage's Account of New Zealand, p. 18.

Group of New Zealanders—from Cook's Voyages.

The food upon which they principally live is the root of the fern-plant, which grows all over the country. Rutherford's account of the method of preparing it, which we have already transcribed, corresponds exactly with that given by Cook, Nicholas, and others. This root, sometimes swallowed entirely, and sometimes only masticated, and the fibres rejected after the juice has been extracted, serves the New Zealanders not only for bread, but even occasionally for a meal by itself. When fish are used,

they do not appear, as in many other countries, to be eaten raw, but are always cooked, either by being fixed upon a stick stuck in the ground, and so exposed to the fire, or by being folded in green leaves, and then laid between heated stones to bake. But little of any other animal food is consumed, birds being killed chiefly for their feathers, and pigs being only produced on days of special festivity. The first pigs were left in New Zealand by Captain Cook, who made many attempts to stock the country both with this and other useful animals, most of whom, however, were so much neglected that they soon disappeared. Cook likewise, as has already been mentioned, introduced the potatoe into New Zealand; and that valuable root appears to be now pretty generally cultivated throughout the northern island. The only agricultural implements, however, which the natives possess are of the rudest description; that with which they dig their potatoes being merely a wooden pole, with a cross-bar of the same material fixed to it about three feet from the ground. Mr. Marsden saw the wives of several of the chiefs toiling hard in the fields with no better spade than this;—among others the head wife of the great Shunghi, who, although quite blind, appeared to dig the ground, he says, as fast as those who had their sight, and as well, first pulling up the weeds as she went along with her hands, then setting her feet upon them that she might know where they were; and, finally, after she had broken the soil, throwing the mould over the weeds with her hands.

The labours of agriculture in New Zealand are, in this way, rendered exceedingly toilsome, by the imperfection of the only instruments which the natives possess. Hence, principally, their extreme desire for iron. Mr. Marsden, in the Journal of his Second Visit, gives us some very interesting details

touching the anxiety which the chiefs universally manifested to obtain agricultural tools of this metal. One morning, he tells us, a number of them arrived at the settlement, some having come twenty, others fifty miles. "They were ready to tear us to pieces," says he, "for hoes and axes. One of them said his heart would burst if he did not get a hoe." They were told that a supply had been written for to England; but "they replied, that many of them would be in their graves before the ship could come from England, and the hoes and axes would be of no advantage to them when dead. They wanted them now. They had no tools at present, but wooden ones, to work their potatoe-grounds with; and requested that we would relieve their present distress *." When he returned from his visit to the Shukehanga, many of the natives of that part of the country followed him, with a similar object, to the settlement. "When we left Patuona's Village," says he, "we were more than fifty in number, most of them going for an axe or a hoe, or some small edge-tool. They would have to travel, by land and water, from a hundred to a hundred and forty miles, in some of the worst paths, through woods, that can be conceived, and to carry their provisions for their journey. A chief's wife came with us all the way, and I believe her load could not be less than one hundred pounds; and many carried much more †." But, perhaps, the most importunate pleader the reverend gentleman encountered on this journey, was an old chief, with a very long beard, and his face tattooed all over, who followed him during part of his progress among the villages of the western coast. "He wanted an axe," says Mr. Marsden, "very much; and at last he said, that if we would give him an axe, he would give us his head. Nothing is held in so

* Journal, p. 309. † Id. p. 328.

much veneration by the natives as the head of their chief. I asked him who should have the axe, when I had got his head. At length he said, Perhaps you will trust me a little time; and, when I die, you shall have my head." This venerable personage afterwards got his axe by sending a man for it to the settlement.

Taken altogether, New Zealand presents a great variety of landscape, although, even where the scenery is most subdued, it partakes of a bold and irregular character, derived not more from the aspect of undisturbed nature, which still obtrudes itself every where among the traces of commencing cultivation, than from the confusion of hill and valley which marks the face of the soil, and the precipitous eminences, with their sides covered by forests, and their summits barren of all vegetation, or terminating perhaps in a naked rock, that often rise close beside the most sheltered spots of fertility and verdure. If this brokenness and inequality of surface oppose difficulties in the way of agricultural improvement, the variety and striking contrasts thereby produced must be often at least highly picturesque; and all, accordingly, who have visited New Zealand, agree in extolling the mingled beauty and grandeur which are profusely spread over the more favoured parts of the country, and are not altogether wanting even where the general look of the coast is most desolate and uninviting. The southern island, with the exception of a narrow stripe along its northern shore, appears to be, in its interior, a mere chaos of mountains, and the region of perpetual winter; but even here, the declivities that slope down towards the sea are clothed, in many places to the water's edge, with gigantic and evergreen forests; and more protected nooks occasionally present themselves, overspread with the abundance of a teeming vegetation, and not to be surpassed in loveliness by what the land has any

where else to shew. The bleakness of the western coast of this southern island indeed does not arise so much from its latitude as from the tempestuous north-west winds which seem so much to prevail in this part of the world, and to the whole force of which it is, from its position, exposed. The interior and eastern side of the northern island owe their fertility and their suitableness for the habitation of man principally to the intervention of a considerable extent of land, much of which is elevated, between them and the quarter from which these desolating gales blow. The more westerly portion of it seems only to be inhabited in places which are in a certain degree similarly defended by the surrounding high grounds. In these, as well as in the more populous districts to the east, the face of the country, generally speaking, offers to the eye a spread of luxuriant verdure, the freshness of which is preserved by continual depositions of moisture from the clouds that are attracted by the mountains, so that its hue, even in the heat of midsummer, is peculiarly vivid and lustrous. Much of the land, both in the valleys and on the brows of the hills, is covered by groves of majestic pine, which are nearly impervious, from the thick underwood that has rushed up every where in the spaces between the trees; and where there is no wood, the prevailing plant is a fern, which rises generally to the height of six or seven feet. Along the skirts of the woodlands flow numerous rivers, which intersect the country in all directions, and several of which are navigable for miles up by ships of considerable burthen. Various lines of communication are in this way established between the opposite coasts of the northern island; while some of the minor streams, that rush down to the sea through the more precipitous ravines, are interrupted in their course by magnificent cataracts, that give additional effect to the other features of

sublimity and romantic beauty by which the country is distinguished. Many of the rocks on the coast are perforated,—a circumstance which proceeds from their formation. One of these is represented in the plates to Cook's Voyages; but there is a more picturesque drawing of it, unpublished, in the British Museum, which we copy:—

Perforated Rock, New Zealand.

The climate of New Zealand, in so far as regards the extremes of heat and cold that are felt in the country, is decidedly temperate. During nearly ten months that Captain Cruise was in the northern island, from about the middle of February to the beginning of December, the general range of the thermometer was between 50° and 75°, nor did it

ever descend below 40°, or rise above 80°. The coldest day marked, we believe, is the 4th of July, when it stood at the former elevation; and one of the warmest, the 4th of April, when it rose to within two degrees of the latter. A country thus situated is placed in the very happiest medium between the torrid and the frigid. The prevalence of stormy weather, especially on the west coast, from the cause that has just been mentioned, forms the chief exception to the general excellence of the climate of New Zealand. We have already noticed the violent gales encountered by Captain Cook on his first voyage, while endeavouring to double the north-east cape. Captain Cruise, likewise, who pursued the same track in the Dromedary, when she went round from the Bay of Islands to visit the mouth of the Shukehanga, says, that they had almost as much bad weather in this excursion as during the whole of the passage from England to New Zealand*. So Vancouver, when he was in the neighbourhood of Dusky Bay, on the west side of the southern island, in 1791, was attacked by a gale of wind, of which he says,—"Although I have certainly seen much boisterous and tempestuous weather, I never before contended with so violent a storm†." Yet from his experience of the coasts of New Zealand, to which this was his fifth visit, that navigator adds, that he is not disposed to think that such weather is here of very frequent occurrence.

The quality of the soil of this country may be best estimated from the profuse vegetation with which the greater part of it is clothed, and the extraordinary vigour which characterizes the growth of most of its productions. The botany of New Zealand has as yet been very imperfectly investigated, a very small portion of its native plants having been either

* Journal, p. 91. † Vancouver's Voyage, vol. i. p. 67.

classified or enumerated. From the partial researches, however, that have been made by the scientific gentlemen attached to Captain Cook's expeditions, and subsequent visitors, there can be no doubt that the country is rich both in new and valuable herbs, plants, and trees, as well as admirably adapted for the cultivation of many of the most useful among the vegetable possessions of other parts of the world. Rutherford, we have seen, mentions the existence of cultivated land in the neighbourhood of the village to which he was last conveyed. The New Zealanders had made considerable advances in agriculture even before Capt. Cook visited the country; and that navigator mentions particularly, in the narrative of his first voyage, the numerous patches of ground which he observed all along the east coast in a state of cultivation. Speaking of the very neighbourhood of the place at which the crew of the Agnes were made prisoners, he says—"Mr. Banks saw some of their plantations, where the ground was as well broken down and tilled as even in the gardens of the most curious people among us. In these spots were sweet potatoes, coccos or eddas, which are well known and much esteemed both in the East and West Indies, and some gourds. The sweet potatoes were placed in small hills, some ranged in rows, and others in quincunx, all laid by a line with the greatest regularity. The coccos were planted upon flat land, but none of them yet (it was about the end of October) appeared above ground; and the gourds were set in small hollows, or dishes, much as in England. These plantations were of different extent, from one or two acres to ten. Taken together, there appeared to be from one hundred and fifty to two hundred acres in cultivation in the whole bay, though we never saw an hundred people. Each district was fenced in, generally with reeds, which were

placed so close together that there was scarcely room for a mouse to creep between*." Since the commencement of the intercourse of the New Zealanders with Europe, the sphere of their husbandry has been considerably enlarged, by the introduction of several most precious articles which were formerly unknown to them. Captain Cook, in the course of his several visits to the country, both deposited in the soil, and left with some of the most intelligent among the natives, quantities of such useful seeds, as those of wheat, pease, cabbage, onions, carrots, turnips, and potatoes; but although he had sufficient proofs of the suitableness of the soil and climate to the growth of most of these articles, which he found that even the winter of New Zealand was too mild to injure, it appeared to him very unlikely that the inhabitants would be at the trouble to take care even of those whose value they in some degree appreciated. With the exception, in fact, of the turnips and potatoes, the vegetable productions which Cook took so much pains to introduce seem to have all perished. The potatoes, however, have been carefully preserved, and are said to have even improved in quality, being now greatly superior to those of the Cape of Good Hope, from which the seed they have sprung from was originally brought. In more recent times, maize has been introduced into New Zealand; and the missionaries have sown many acres in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, both on their own property and on that of the native chiefs, with English wheat, which has produced an abundant return. Duaterra, part of whose history we have already given, was, however, the first person who actually reared a crop of this grain in his native country. On leaving Port Jackson the second time, to return home, he took with him a quantity of it,

* Cook's First Voyage, ii. p. 313.

and much astonished his acquaintances by informing them, that this was the very substance of which the Europeans made biscuit, such as they had seen and eaten on board their ships. "He gave a portion of wheat," says Mr. Marsden, "to six chiefs, and also to some of his own common men, and directed them all how to sow it, reserving some for himself and his uncle, Shungie, who is a very great chief,—his dominion extending from the east to the west side of New Zealand. All the persons to whom Duaterra had given the seed-wheat put it into the ground, and it grew well; but before it was well ripe, many of them grew impatient for the produce; and as they expected to find the grain at the roots of the stems, similar to their potatoes, they examined the roots, and finding there was no wheat under the ground, they pulled it all up and burned it, excepting Shungie. The chiefs ridiculed Duaterra much about the wheat, and told him that, because he had been a great traveller, he thought he could easily impose upon their credulity by fine stories; and all he urged could not convince them that wheat would make bread. His own and Shungie's crops in time came to perfection, and were reaped and threshed; and though the natives were much astonished to find that the grain was produced at the top, and not at the bottom of the stem, yet they could not be persuaded that bread could be made of it." Mr. Marsden afterwards sent Duaterra a steel mill to grind his wheat, which he received with no little joy. "He soon set to work," continues Mr. Marsden, "and ground some wheat before his countrymen, who danced and shouted for joy when they saw the meal. He told me that he made a cake and baked it in a frying-pan, and gave it to the people to eat, which fully satisfied them of the truth he had told them

before, that wheat would make bread *." The chiefs now begged some more seed, which they sowed; and such of it as was attended to grew up as strong a crop as could be desired.

In all countries the securing of a sufficient supply of food is the primary concern of society; and, accordingly, even among the rudest tribes who are in any degree dependent upon the fruits of the earth for their sustenance, the different operations of agriculture, as regulated by the seasons, have always excited especial interest. Theoretical writers are fond of talking of the natural progress of the species to the agricultural state, from and through the pastoral; as if the one were a condition at which it was nothing less than impossible for a people to arrive, except by first undergoing the other. In countries circumstanced like New Zealand, at least, the course of things must have been somewhat different; inasmuch as here we find the agricultural state begun, where the pastoral never could have been known, there being no flocks to tend. Cook, as we have seen, found the inhabitants of this country extensive cultivators of land, and they, probably, had been so for many ages before. Although the fern-root is in most places the spontaneous produce of the soil, and enters largely into the consumption of the people, it would yet seem that they have not been wont to consider themselves independent of those other crops which they raise by regular cultivation. To these, accordingly, they pay the greatest attention, insomuch, that most of those who have visited the country have been struck by the extraordinary contrast between the neat and clean appearance of their fields, in which the plants rise in even rows, and not a weed is to be seen, and the universal air of rudeness,

* Rev. Mr. Marsden's Memoir of Duaterra.

slovenliness, and discomfort which their huts present. But we must remember, that in the latter case we see merely a few of the personal accommodations of the savage, his neglect of which occasions him but very slight and temporary inconvenience; whereas in the former it is the very sustenance of his life which is concerned, his inattention to which might expose him to all the miseries of famine. The same care and neatness in the management of their fields has been remarked as characteristic of the North American Indians*; and both they and the New Zealanders celebrate the seasons of planting and gathering in their harvests with festivities and religious observances,—practices which have, indeed, prevailed in almost every nation, and may be regarded as among the most beautiful and becoming of the rites of natural religion. The commencement of the coomera harvest in New Zealand is the signal for the suspension of all other occupations except that of gathering in the crop. First, the priest pronounces a blessing upon the unbroken ground; and then, when all its produce has been gathered in, he taboos, or makes sacred, the public storehouse in which it is deposited. Captain Cruise states, that this solemn dedication has sometimes saved these depositories from spoliation, even on occasion of a hostile attack by another tribe. "One of the gentlemen of the ship," this writer adds, "was present at the shackerie, or harvest-home (if it may be so called) of Shungie's people. It was celebrated in a wood, where a square space had been cleared of trees, in the centre of which three very tall posts, driven into the ground in the form of a triangle, supported an immense pile of baskets of coomeras. The tribe of Teeperree of Wangarooa was invited to participate in the rejoicings, which consisted of a number of dances

*, Lafitau, iii. 71

performed round the pile, succeeded by a very splendid feast; and when Teeperree's men were going away, they received a present of as many coomeras as they could carry with them*." In New Zealand all the cultivated fields are strictly tabooed, as well as the people employed in cultivating them, who live upon the spot while they proceed with their labours, and are not permitted to pass the boundary until they are terminated; nor are any others allowed to trespass upon the sacred enclosure.

We have already mentioned more than once the lofty forests of New Zealand. Of these, considered as a mere ornament to the country, all who have seen them speak in terms of the highest admiration. Mr. Anderson (the surgeon whom Cook took with him on board the Resolution in his third voyage) describes them as "flourishing with a vigour almost superior to anything that imagination can conceive, and affording an august prospect to those who are delighted with the grand and beautiful works of nature†." "It is impossible," says Mr. Nicholas, "to imagine, in the wildest and most picturesque walks of nature, a sight more sublime and majestic, or which can more forcibly challenge the admiration of the traveller, than a New Zealand forest‡." And indeed, when we are told that the trees rise generally to the height of from eighty to a hundred feet, straight as a mast and without a branch, and are then crowned with tops of such umbrageous foliage, that the rays of the sun, in endeavouring to pierce through them, can hardly make more than a dim twilight in the lonely recesses below, so that herbage cannot grow there, and the rank soil produces nothing but a thick spread of climbing and inter-

* Cruise's Journal, p. 108.
† Cook's Third Voyage, i. p. 146.
‡ Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 249.

twisted underwood, we may conceive how imposing must be the gloomy grandeur of these gigantic and impenetrable groves. In the woods in the neighbourhood of Poverty Bay, Cook says he found trees of above twenty different sorts, altogether unknown to any body on board *; and almost every new district which he visited afterwards presented to him a profusion of new varieties. Among those which the natives principally make use of, are the *henow*, from which they extract a black dye, and the *vow*, a species of cork tree. But the trees that have as yet chiefly attracted the attention of Europeans are certain of those more lofty ones of which we have just spoken.

These trees had attracted Cook's attention in his first voyage, as likely to prove admirably adapted for masts, if the timber, which in its original state he considered rather too heavy for that purpose, could, like that of the European pitch-pine, be lightened by tapping; they would then, he says, be such masts as no country in Europe could produce †. Crozet, however, asserts, in his account of Marion's voyage ‡, that they found what he calls the cedar of New Zealand to weigh no heavier than the best Riga fir. Of late years the attention of our own government has been turned to the capabilities of his wood, and its entire suitableness for the most important purposes of ship-building has been sufficiently ascertained. It was in order to obtain a cargo of spars for top-masts that the Dromedary, in which Captain Cruise sailed, was directed to proceed to New Zealand, in 1820. This ship had already been provided with a fore-top-gallant-mast of New Zealand timber, which had been brought to England by the Catherine whaler, and of which

* First Voyage, ii. 322. † Id. ii.

‡ Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud, p. 81.

Captain Cruise says, "it was well tried during its return to its native country, and proved itself to be, in seamen's phrase, a *stick* of first-rate quality *."

According to Captain Cruise there are two kinds of trees known in New Zealand, which are fit for masts for large ships; the one of which is called by the natives *kaikaterre*, the other *cowry* or *cowdy*. They both grow to an immense height without a branch; but the cowry seems to be the tallest, and is also to be preferred on other accounts. It is not, however, so easily procured as the other, being to be sought for frequently on the tops of the highest hills, from which it is scarcely possible to get it conveyed to the seaside; whereas the kaikaterre is found generally in low swampy ground, often on the banks of rivers, so that little difficulty, of course, is experienced in bringing it on board. It was the cowry which the Dromedary was directed, if possible, to procure; but she was obliged at last to come home with a cargo of the other timber, the cowry forests being found to be at too great a distance from any place of embarkation in the Bay of Islands, to make it practicable for the spars to be conveyed to the ship; and the Captain having declined to go up the Shukehanga river, the banks of which were ascertained to be clothed with that tree, from an apprehension of not being able to pass the bar which lies across its mouth. It has since been stated in the *Quarterly Review*†, that the spars brought from New Zealand have been "found on trial to be of equal gravity with Riga spars, and to possess a greater degree of flexibility, as well as of strength, than the very best species of fir procured from the north." "The wood of this tree," (the cowry,) it is added, "is much finer grained than any

* Journal, p. 2.

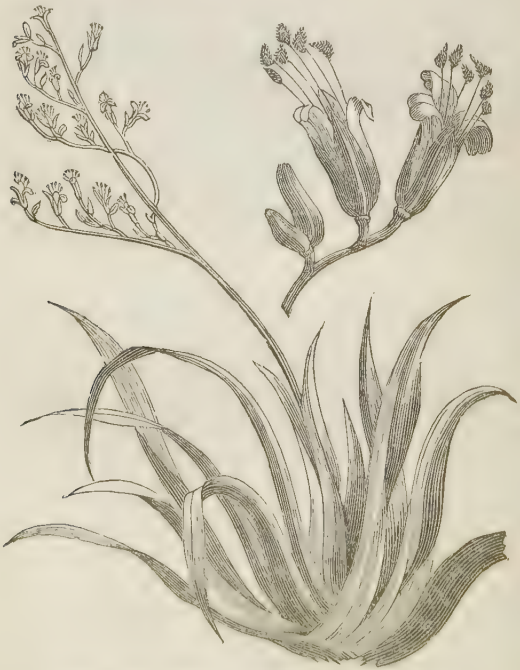
† Vol. xxxi., p. 64, (published Dec. 1824.)

timber of the pine tribe; and the trunks are of such a size as to serve for the main and fore-top-masts of the largest three-deckers." In a note, it is said, "the Prince Regent, of one hundred and twenty guns, is supplied with them; they have also been used in sea-going ships, and the reports of their qualities are most favourable." The same writer also informs us, that the cowry, "though coniferous, is not allied to the pine tribe, but is a species of the genus which Rumphius describes under the name of Damanara, which affords the pitch or resin used by the natives of the Oriental Archipelago, and which is of a different genus from that tree which in India produces the dammer †." He asserts, however, that it is not very abundant in New Zealand, its growth being confined, as far as our knowledge extends, to the northward of Mercury Bay on one side of the island, and the mouth of the Wycotto on the other. The Wycotto, we apprehend, is here named by mistake for the Shukehanga, the banks of which certainly abound in the cowry tree; whereas we are not aware that the Wycotto, which lies about one hundred and fifty miles further to the south, has yet been entered by any European vessel, or its banks so much as seen by any one who has visited New Zealand.

The only other vegetable production of New Zealand which we can afford to notice, is one that has of late attracted a great deal of attention, both in this country and in other parts of Europe—we mean the plant from which the natives fabricate not only their fishing lines and nets, and such other cordage as they require, but also the cloaks, or mats, as they have been somewhat improperly called, which form their clothing. This plant is repeatedly noticed by Cook; and Mr. Anderson describes the flax produced from it as of a silky fineness, and superior to any-

* Id. p. 65.

thing we possess. In the neighbourhood of Queen Charlotte's Sound, in the southern island, it grows, he says, everywhere near the sea, and in some places a considerable way up the hills, springing up from the earth in bunches or tufts, with sedgelike leaves, and bearing, on a long stalk, yellowish flowers, which give place to long roundish pods, filled with very thin, shining, black seeds *.



Flax of New Zealand; from Plates to Cook's Voyages.

* Cook's Third Voyage, i. 149.

This is very nearly the description of it given by Mr. Nicholas, who saw it in the northern island, where he found it flourishing with equal luxuriance in the most exposed as in the most sheltered situations, and growing to the height of from five to seven feet. It bears a strong resemblance, he says, to our common flag, only that the stem is much thicker, and the flowers less expanded, and of a red colour *. It belongs to the genus to which Linnæus gives the name of Phormium; and seven varieties of it have already, it seems, been discovered in New Zealand †. Of these, one is particularly described as remarkable for the facility with which its boon, or useless vegetable matter, admits of being separated from the fibres ‡. Fibre of a peculiarly silky lustre and softness is also said to be produced from another species, which is understood to grow in the more southern parts of the country §.

Mr. Nicholas brought some of the seeds of the New Zealand phormium with him to England in 1815; but unfortunately they lost their vegetative properties during the voyage ‖. It appears, however, that, some years before, it had been brought to blossom, though imperfectly, in the neighbourhood of London; and in France it is said to have been cultivated in the open air with great success, by MM. Freycinet and Faujas St. Fond. Under the culture of the former of these gentlemen it grew, in 1813, to the height of seven feet, six lines, the stalk being three inches and four lines in circumference at the base, and two inches and a half, half way up.

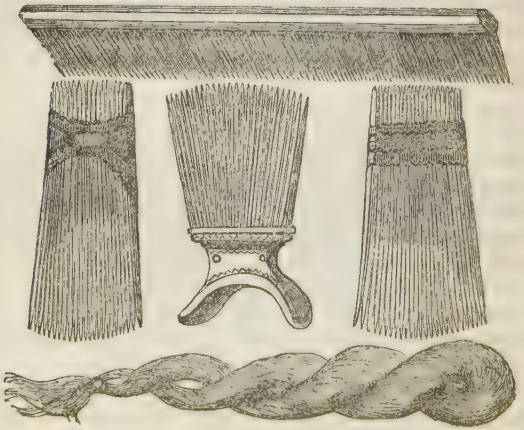
* Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 111.

† Missionary Register for 1822, p. 91.

‡ Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for 1821-2, p. 347.

§ Id. ‖ Nicholas's Voyage, vol. ii., p. 135.

Upon one stalk he had a hundred and nine flowers, of a greenish yellow colour; and he had made some very strong ropes from the leaves, from which he had obtained the flax by a very simple process *. We have related in a former chapter the attempt made to ascertain the method of dressing this flax by Governor King, on the establishment of the settlement at Norfolk Island. More recently, it has been dressed in New South Wales in considerable quantities; and a person employed by the Church Missionary Society to examine the process in use, writes from that country, in March, 1821, that he has been successful in various experiments which he had instituted for its improvement †. According to Rutherford, the natives, after having cut it down, and brought it



Flax and Combs.

* Nicholas's Voyage, vol. ii., p. 135. Note quoted by Mr. Nicholas from the Botanical Magazine for Aug. 1814.

† Twenty-Second Report of the Church Missionary Society, p. 195.

home green in bundles, in which state it is called koradee, scrape it with a large mussel-shell, and take the heart out of it, splitting it with the nails of their thumbs, which for that purpose they keep very long. It would seem, however, that the natives have made instruments for dressing this flax, not very dissimilar to the tools of our own wool-combers. The outside they throw away, and the rest they spread out for several days in the sun to dry, which makes it as white as snow. In this prepared state it is, he says, called mooka*. They spin it, he adds, in a double thread, with the hand on the thigh, and then work it into mats, also by the hand: three women may work on one mat at a time. Mr. Nicholas, on one occasion, saw Duaterra's head wife employed in weaving. The mat on which she was engaged was one of an open texture, and "she performed her work," says the author, "with wooden pegs stuck in the ground at equal distances from each other; to which having tied the threads that formed the woof, she took up six threads with the two composing the warp, knotting them carefully together." It was astonishing, he says, with what dexterity and quickness she handled the threads, and how well executed was her performance. He was assured that another mat which he saw, and which was woven with elaborate ingenuity and elegance, could not have been manufactured in less time than between two and three years.

Valuable, however, as is the phormium for the purposes to which alone it is applied in New Zealand, it would appear that the attempts which have been made to fabricate from it what is properly called cloth, have not hitherto been attended with a favourable result. Some years ago, a quantity of hemp that

* The same word, we have no doubt, with the term *maua, ripe* or *cooked,* given in Professor Lee's New Zealand Vocabulary.

had been manufactured from the plant at Sydney, in New South Wales, was sent to be woven at Knaresborough; but "the trial," it is stated, "did not succeed to the full satisfaction of the parties*." We have been favoured with a communication upon this subject, by a gentleman who has given much attention to it, which seems to explain, in a very satisfactory manner, the true reason of the failure that has been here experienced. "A friend of mine," says our correspondent, "a few years ago imported a quantity of the phormium, in the expectation that it would answer admirably for making cloth even of the finest fabric. But in this he was altogether disappointed. Although it is infinitely stronger, in its raw state, than any other flax or hemp, yet when boiled with potash it becomes so exceedingly weak, as not to bear the operation of weaving but with the utmost difficulty. A gentleman once shewed me a pair of trowsers made of this material. They appeared quite rough and nearly worn out, though they had been used but for a few weeks. Although making cloth of it, however, is out of the question, it is admirably fitted for rope and twine of all descriptions. It will, therefore, prove highly valuable to our shipping and fishing interests. Another friend of mine made some rope of it, which, when proved by the breaking machine, bore, I think, nearly double the strain of a similar-sized rope made of Russia hemp. The great strength and tenacity of the New Zealand flax appears to me to be owing to the fibres (though naturally short) being firmly united by an elastic vegetable glue or gum, which the boiling process dissolves." Rutherford says the flax becomes black on being soaked, which may possibly be occasioned by its consequent loss of the gum here described.

We find it stated in the Annual Register for 1819,

* Seventeenth Report of the Church Missionary Society, p. 468.

that about the beginning of that year a favourable report had been made of the suitableness of the phormium for the manufacture both of small and large ropes, after some experiments in the dock-yard at Portsmouth. The ropes turned out strong, pliable, and very silky. The notice adds, that the plant may be cut down in New Zealand three times a year; and that it may be imported to this country at the rate of about eight pounds per ton, or one-seventh of the cost of hemp.

Among the useful plants for which we are indebted to New Zealand, we must not forget their summer spinach (*Tetragonia expansa*—Murray), which was discovered in Cook's first voyage by Sir Joseph Banks, and was "boiled and eaten as greens" by the crew. It was afterwards seen by Forster at Tongataboo, though it was not used by the natives; but Thunberg found the Japanese acquainted with its value as a pot-herb. It was introduced into Kew Gardens in 1772; but the first account of it as a vegetable worthy of cultivation, was published by Count D'Auraches in the Annales d'Agriculture for 1809. Its chief advantage lies in the leaves being fit for use during the summer, even in the driest weather, up to the setting in of the frosts, when the common spinach is useless; but it is not reckoned of so fine a flavour as that plant. The Rev. J. Bransby says, that the produce of three seeds (which must be reared by heat before planting out) supplied his own table, and those of two of his friends, from June, till the frost killed it. The plants should be six feet asunder, and, to save room, planted on ridges two feet high.

As yet, the mineralogy of New Zealand has been as imperfectly investigated as its botany. A blue pigment, which the natives make use of to paint their faces, appears to be manganese*. They also,

* Vide Nicholas's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 153.

as has been already mentioned, make certain of their weapons, and carving tools, of a green talc, or jasper stone, which is found only in the southern island, and, at least before they became acquainted with iron, used to be accounted by themselves a very precious article. Captain Cook remarked, on his first visit, the great quantities of iron-sand which were brought down to the shore by every little rivulet of fresh water from the interior, and regarded the fact as a demonstration that there was ore of that metal not far inland. Mr. Nicholas, while in the country, procured one or two pieces of pumice stone, which the natives made use of in polishing their spears, and likewise some obsidian or volcanic glass; but he seems to think that these substances are not produced in New Zealand; although, in that case, it would not be easy to conceive where the inhabitants could have obtained them. The chief, Korro-korro, he informs us, in a sketch of the northern island which he drew for him upon paper, marked a high mountain on the eastern side between the East Cape and Queen Charlotte's Sound, which was wont from time to time to vomit forth fire and smoke. Korro-korro, though upon occasions somewhat given to fiction, like most of his countrymen, could hardly, we think, have invented this. His account may perhaps be considered as receiving some confirmation from a circumstance mentioned by Captain Furneaux, who tells us, that while not very far from this part of the coast in the Adventure, on the 11th of May 1773, he felt two severe shocks of an earthquake‡. Rutherford expressly states, and he is the only authority who does so, that many fine veins of

* See his narrative in Cook's Second Voyage. Captain Cruise, it may also be observed, actually found two exhausted, or, at least inactive, volcanoes in the neighbourhood of the River Thames. See Journal, pp. 225, 226.

coal make their appearance from the sides of the mountains in the interior of the northern island, although the natives burn nothing but wood. He mentions that he has seen beds of oyster-shells, three feet under the surface of the ground, and at the distance of ten miles from the coast. The natives, he adds, with characteristic simplicity, can give no account how they got there. Rutherford also related in conversation that there is a plain about a mile square, near the East Cape, the surface of which is covered with grass, but that beneath is a bright yellow dust like sulphur, to the depth of several feet, which blisters the skin, and is somewhat warm.

The native land animals of New Zealand are not numerous. The most common is said to be one resembling our fox-dog, which is sometimes eaten for food. It runs wild in the woods, and is described by Mr. Savage as usually of a black and white skin, with pricked up ears and the hair rather long. But it may perhaps be doubted if even this quadruped is a native of the country. M. Balbi* refers to the term *Pero*, the common New Zealand name for a dog, and which is evidently the Spanish *Perro*, as affording a proof that the animal has been obtained from abroad, and of course in comparatively recent times. Mr. Savage, however, gives *coradde* as the native name for the species of fox-dog just mentioned. As the New Zealanders call a dog *pero*, so they call a pig *porka*, evidently another European term. The first hogs were left in the country by Cook; but the animal was not altogether unknown to the New Zealanders before the visit of that great navigator. It is stated, in the account of Cook's first voyage, that when they were not far from the Bay of Islands, they had a conversation, by means of Tupia the

* Introduction à l'Atlas, p. lxix

Otaheitan, with some of the natives, who informed them that very long ago a canoe, after sailing to the north-west for about a month, had at last reached a country of great extent, called *Ulimaroa*, where the people eat hogs. They indicated these animals, not by description, but by name, calling them *booak*, which is nearly the same name by which they are known at Otaheite, Tonga, the Marquesas, and other islands in the South Sea. According to Rutherford the pigs now run wild in the woods, and are hunted by dogs. He also mentions that there are a few horned cattle in the interior, which have been bred from some left by the discovery ships. No other account, however, confirms this statement. There are in New Zealand a few rats, and bats; and the coasts are frequented by seals of different species. One of the natives told Captain Cook that there was in the interior a lizard of eight feet long, and as thick as a man's body, which burrowed in the ground, and sometimes seized and devoured men. This animal, of the existence of which we have the additional evidence of an exactly similar description given by one of the chiefs to Mr. Nicholas, is probably an alligator. The natives, as we learn from Captain Cruise, have the greatest horror of a lizard, in the shape of which animal they believe it is that the Atua (or Dæmon) is wont to take possession of the dying and to devour their entrails—a superstition which may not be unconnected with the dread the alligator has spread among them by its actual ravages, or the stories that have been propagated respecting it. They report that in the part of the country where it is found it makes great havoc among children, carrying them off, and devouring them whenever they came in its way.

There are not many species of insects, those seen by Mr. Anderson, who accompanied Cook, being

only a few dragon-flies, butterflies, grasshoppers, spiders, and black ants, vast numbers of scorpion flies, and a sand-fly, which is described as the only noxious insect in the country. It insinuates itself under the foot, and bites like a mosquito.

The birds of New Zealand are very numerous, and almost all peculiar to the country. Among them are many sorts of wild ducks, large wood-pigeons, sea gulls, rails, parrots, and paroquets. They are generally very tame. Rutherford states that during his long residence he became very expert, after the manner of the natives, in catching birds with a noosed string, and that he has thus caught thousands of ground parrots with a line about fifty feet long. The most remarkable bird is one to which Cook's people gave the name of the mocking-bird, from the extraordinary variety of its notes. There is also another which was called by the English the poe, or poi bird, from a little tuft of white curled feathers which it has under its throat, and which seemed to them to resemble certain white flowers worn as ornaments in the ears by the people of Otaheite, and known there

Poi-bird—from the Plates to Cook's Second Voyage.

by a similar name. This bird is also remarkable both for the beauty of its plumage and the sweetness of its note. Its power of song is the more remarkable as it belongs to the class of birds which feed on honey, whose notes are generally not melodious.

The enchanting music of the woods of New Zealand, indeed, is dwelt upon with rapture by all who have had an opportunity of listening to it. Describing one of the first days he spent in Queen Charlotte's Sound, Cook says,—"The ship lay at the distance of somewhat less than a quarter of a mile from the shore, and in the morning we were awakened by the singing of the birds. The number was incredible, and they seemed to strain their throats in emulation of each other. This wild melody was infinitely superior to any that we had ever heard of the same kind: it seemed to be like small bells, exquisitely tuned; and perhaps the distance and the water between, might be no small advantage to the sound*." Upon inquiry, they were informed that the birds here always began to sing about two hours after midnight, and, continuing their music till sunrise, were silent the rest of the day. Mr. Nicholas describes a similar concert, which he heard in the northern island, in still more glowing terms.

One of the chief sources of natural wealth which New Zealand possesses, consists in the abundance and variety of the fish which frequent its coasts. Wherever he went, Captain Cook, in his different visits to the two islands, was amply supplied with this description of food, of which he says, that six or eight men, with hooks and lines, would in some places catch daily enough to serve the whole ship's company. Among the different species which are described as being found, we may mention mackerel, lobsters, crayfish, a sort called by the sailors coleſish,

* Cook's First Voyage, chap. iv. § 26.

which Cook says was both larger and finer than any he had seen before, and was, in the opinion of most on board, the highest luxury the sea afforded them; the herring, the flounder, and a fish resembling the salmon. To these may be added, besides many other species of shell-fish, mussels, cockles, and oysters. The seas in the neighbourhood of New Zealand also, we ought not to forget to add, are much frequented by whales, which, besides the value of their blubber, are greatly prized by the natives for the sake of their flesh, which they consider a first-rate delicacy. The New Zealanders are extremely expert in fishing. They are also admirable divers, and Rutherford states that they will bring up live fish from the deepest waters, with the greatest certainty. The hooks, and other implements for fishery, which they make of bone, are of various forms. The following are specimens:

Implements for Fishing.

New Zealanders Fishing—from a Drawing in the British Museum.

Chapter VIII.

Murder of Rutherford's Comrade.—Funeral of a Chief's mother.—Rutherford made a Chief.—Marries.—Music of New Zealanders.—Distinctions of rank.—Notions of theft.

The details we have thus given will enable the reader to form a conception of the state of society in the country in which Rutherford now found himself imprisoned. The spot in the northern island of New Zealand, in which the village lay where his residence was eventually fixed, cannot be exactly ascertained, from the account which he gives of his journey to it from the coast. It is evident, however, from the narrative that it was too far in the interior to permit the sea to be seen from it.

"For the first year after our arrival in Aimy's village," says Rutherford, "we spent our time chiefly in fishing and shooting; for the chief had a capital double-barrelled fowling piece, as well as plenty of powder and duck-shot, which he had brought from our vessel; and he used to entrust me with the fowling-piece whenever I had a mind to go a shooting, though he seldom accompanied me himself. We were generally fortunate enough to bring home a good many wood-pigeons, which are very plentiful in New Zealand. At last it happened that Aimy and his family went to a feast at another village a few miles distant from ours, and my comrade and I were left at home, with nobody but a few slaves, and the chief's mother, an old woman, who was sick, and attended by a physician. A physician in this country

remains with his patients constantly both day and night, never leaving them till they either recover or die, in which latter case he is brought before a court of inquiry, composed of all the chiefs for many miles round. During the absence of the family at the feast, my comrade chanced to lend his knife to a slave for him to cut some rushes with, in order to repair a house; and when this was done he received it back again. Soon after he and I killed a pig, from which we cut a portion into small pieces, and put them into our iron pot, along with some potatoes which we had also peeled with our knives. When the potatoes were cooked, the old woman who was sick desired us to give her some, which we did in the presence of the doctor, and she ate them. Next morning she died, when the chief and the rest of his family immediately returned home. The corpse was first removed to an unoccupied piece of ground in the centre of the village, and there placed with a mat under it, in a sitting position against a post, being covered with another mat up to the chin. The head and face were anointed with shark oil, and a piece of green flax was also tied round the head, in which were stuck several white feathers,—the sort of feathers which are here preferred to any other. They then constructed, around the corpse, an inclosure of twigs, something like a bird's cage, for the purpose of keeping the dogs, pigs, and children from it; and these operations being over, muskets continued to be occasionally fired during the remainder of the day to the memory of the old woman. Meanwhile, the chiefs and their families from miles round were making their appearance in our village, bringing with them their slaves loaded with provisions. On the third day after the death, they all, to the number of some hundreds, knelt down around the corpse, and having thrown off their mats, proceeded to cry

and cut themselves, in the same manner as we had seen done on occasion of the different chiefs of the villages through which we passed being welcomed home. After some time spent in this ceremony, they all sat down together to a great feast, made of their own provisions which they had brought with them. The following morning, the men alone formed a circle round the dead body, armed with spears, muskets, tomahawks, and merys ; and the doctor appeared, walking backwards and forwards in the ring. By this time, my companion and I had learned a good deal of their language ; and, as we stood listening to what was said, we heard the doctor relate the particulars of the old woman's illness and death : after which, the chiefs began to inquire very closely into what she had eaten for the three days before she expired. At last, the doctor having retired from the ring, an old chief stepped forward, with three or four white feathers stuck in his hair; and, having walked several times up and down in the ring, addressed the meeting, and said that, in his opinion, the old woman's death had been occasioned by her having eaten potatoes that had been peeled with a white man's knife, after it had been used for cutting rushes to repair a house ; on which account, he thought that the white man to whom the knife belonged should be killed, which would be a great honour conferred upon the memory of the dead woman. To this proposal many of the other chiefs expressed their assent, and it seemed about to be adopted by the court. Meanwhile, my companion stood trembling, and unable to speak from fear. I then went forward myself into the ring, and told them, that if the white man had done wrong in lending his knife to the slave, he had done so ignorantly, from not knowing the customs of the country. I ventured at the same time to address myself to Aimy, beseeching

him to spare my shipmate's life; but he continued to keep his seat on the ground, mourning for the loss of his mother, without answering me, or seeming to take any notice of what I said; and while I was yet speaking to him, the chief with the white feathers went and struck my comrade on the head with a mery, and killed him. Aimy, however, would not allow him to be eaten, though for what reason I never could learn. The slaves, therefore, having dug a grave for him, he was interred after my directions. As for the corpse of the old woman, it was now wrapt up in several mats, and carried away by Aimy and the doctor, no person being allowed to follow them. I learned, however, that they took her into a neighbouring wood, and there buried her. After this, the strangers all left our village, and returned to their respective homes. In about three months, the body of the woman was again taken up, and carried to the river side, where the bones were scraped and washed, and then inclosed in a box, which had been prepared for that purpose. The box was afterwards fastened on the top of a post, in the place where the body first lay in state; and a space of about thirty feet in circumference being railed in around it, a wooden image was erected, to signify that the ground was tabooed, or sacred, and as a warning that no one should enter the inclosure. This is the regular manner of interment in New Zealand for any one belonging to a chief's family. When a slave dies, a hole is dug, and the body is thrown into it without any ceremony; nor is it ever disinterred again, or any further notice taken of it. They never eat any person who dies of disease, or in the course of nature*."

Thus left alone among these savages, and taught by the murder of his comrade on how slight a tenure

* The different practice in the cannibalism of the Battas has been already noticed.

he held his own life, exposed as he was every moment to the chance of in some way or other provoking their capricious cruelty, Rutherford, it may be thought, must have felt his protracted detention growing every day more insupportable. One of the greatest inconveniences which he now began to feel, arose from the wearing out of his clothes, which he patched and tacked as well as he could for some time, but at last, after he had been about three years in the country, they would hold together no longer. All that he had to wear, therefore, was a white flax mat, which was given to him by the chief, and which, being thrown over his shoulders, came as low as his knees. This, he says, was his only garment, and he was compelled to go both bareheaded and barefooted, having neither hat, shoes, nor stockings. His life, meanwhile, seems to have been varied by few incidents deserving of being recorded, and we are left to suppose that he spent his time principally in shooting and fishing, as before. For the first sixteen months of his residence at the village, he kept a reckoning of days by notches on a stick;—but when he afterwards moved about with the chiefs, he neglected this mode of tracing the progress of time.

"At last, it happened one day," the narrative proceeds, "while we were all assembled at a feast in our village, that Aimy called me to him, in the presence of several more chiefs, and, having told them of my activity in shooting and fishing, concluded by saying that he wished to make me a chief, if I would give my consent. This I readily did: upon which my hair was immediately cut with an oyster shell in the front, in the same manner as the chiefs have theirs cut; and several of the chiefs made me a present of some mats, and promised to send me some pigs the next day. I now put on a mat covered over with red ochre and oil, such as was worn

by the other chiefs; and my head and face were also anointed with the same composition by a chief's daughter, who was entirely a stranger to me. I received, at the same time, a handsome stone mery, which I afterwards always carried with me. Aimy now advised me to take two or three wives,—it being the custom for the chiefs to have as many as they think proper; and I consented to take two. About sixty women were then brought up before me, none of whom, however, pleased me, and I refused to have any of them; on which Aimy told me that I was tabooed for three days, at the expiration of which time he would take me with him to his brother's camp, where I should find plenty of women that would please me. Accordingly we went to his brother's at the time appointed, when several women were brought up before us; but, having cast my eyes upon Aimy's two daughters, who had followed us, and were sitting on the grass, I went up to the eldest, and said that I would choose her. On this she immediately screamed and ran away; but two of the natives, having thrown off their mats, pursued her, and soon brought her back, when, by the direction of Aimy, I went and took hold of her hand. The two natives then let her go, and she walked quietly with me to her father, but hung down her head, and continued laughing. Aimy now called his other daughter to him, who also came laughing; and he then advised me to take them both. I then turned to them, and asked them if they were willing to go with me, when they both answered *I pea**, or *I pair*, which signifies, Yes, I be-

* That is, according to Professor Lee's orthography, *Ai péa*. Rutherford's translation seems to give the effect of the phrase correctly enough: *ai* being the usual adverb of affirmation, and *péa* being expressive of a slight degree of doubt, like our English *perhaps*, or *it may be so*. See New Zealand Grammar, p. 54.

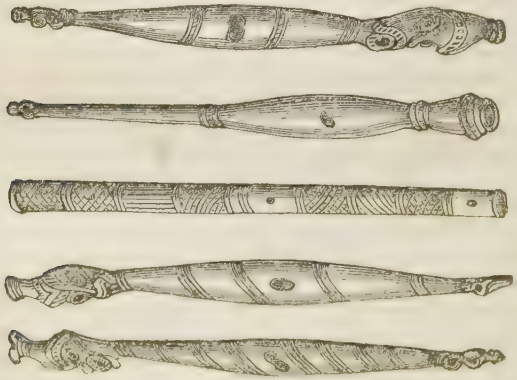
lieve so. On this, Aimy told them they were tabooed to me, and directed us all three to go home together, which we did, followed by several of the natives. We had not been many minutes at our own village, when Aimy, and his brother also, arrived; and in the evening, a great feast was given to the people by Aimy. During the greater part of the night, the women kept dancing a dance which is called *Kane-Kane**, and is seldom performed, except when large parties are met together. While dancing it, they stood all in a row, several of them holding muskets over their heads; and their movements were accompanied by the singing of several of the men; for they have no kind of music in this country.

"My eldest wife's name was Eshou, and that of my youngest Epecka. They were both handsome, mild, and good-tempered. I was now always obliged to eat with them in the open air, as they would not eat under the roof of my house, that being contrary to the customs of their country. When away for any length of time, I used to take Epecka along with me, and leave Eshou at home. The chiefs' wives in New Zealand are never jealous of each other, but live together in great harmony; the only distinction among them being, that the oldest is always considered the head wife. No other ceremony takes place on occasion of a marriage, except what I have mentioned. Any child born of a slave woman, though the father should be a chief, is considered a slave, like its mother. A woman found guilty of adultery is immediately put to death. Many of the chiefs take wives from among their slaves; but any one else that marries a slave woman may be robbed with impunity; whereas he who marries a woman belonging to a chief's family is secure

* In the vocabulary at the end of the New Zealand Grammar, *kani-kani*, is given as the name of a game.

from being plundered, as the natives dare not steal from any person of that rank. With regard to stealing from others, the custom is that, if any person has stolen anything, and kept it concealed for three days, it then becomes his own property, and the only way for the injured party to obtain satisfaction is to rob the thief in return. If the theft, however, be detected within three days, the thief has to return the article stolen ; but, even in that case, he goes unpunished. The chiefs, also, although secure from the depredations of their inferiors, plunder one another, and this often occasions a war among them."

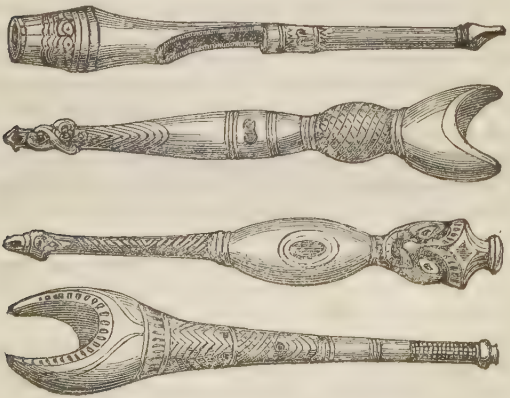
By music in this passage, Rutherford evidently means instrumental music, which, it would appear, was not known in the part of New Zealand where he resided. Other authorities, however, speak of different wind-instruments, similar to our fifes or flutes, which are elsewhere in common use.



New Zealand Flutes.

One which is frequently to be met with at the Bay of Islands, consists, according to Mr. Savage, of a tube

six or seven inches long, open at both extremities, and having three holes on one side, and one on the other. Another is formed of two pieces of wood bound together, so as to make a tube inflated at the middle, at which place there is a single hole. It is blown into at one extremity, while the other is stopped and opened, to produce different modifications of the sound *. Of some of these instruments, on the carving and inlaying of which much labour is generally bestowed, the following representations have been given :—



Other Musical Instruments of New Zealand.

Mr. Nicholas once observed an instrument like a flute, made of bone, very ingeniously carved, hanging at the breast of one of the natives; and when he asked what bone it was formed from, the possessor immediately told him that it was *evee tungata*, the

* Account of New Zealand, pp. 83, 84.

bone of a man. It was a larger bone than any of the native animals could have supplied*.

Vocal music is one of the favourite amusements of the New Zealanders. Destitute as they are of the art of writing, they have, nevertheless, their song poetry, part of which is traditionary, and part the produce of such passing events as strongly excite their feelings, and prompt their fancy to this only work of composition of which they have any knowledge. Certain individuals among them are distinguished for their success in these effusions; but the people inhabiting the vicinity of the east cape seem generally to enjoy the highest reputation for this species of talent †. These tribes, indeed, are described as in many other respects decidedly superior to the rest of their countrymen. It is among them that all the arts known in New Zealand flourish in the greatest perfection—as for example, the working of mats, and the making and polishing of the different instruments used in war. Yet, although very numerous, they are themselves of a peaceful disposition. Their houses are said to be both larger and better built than those in any other part of the island; and their plantations are also more extensive ‡. This seems, in short, to be the manufacturing district of New Zealand—the only part of the country in which anything like regular industry has found an abode. Hence the pre-eminence of its inhabitants, both in the useful and the elegant arts.

Mr. Nicholas has printed some specimens of the songs of the New Zealanders, which, when sung, are always accompanied, he informs us, by a great deal of action. As he has given merely the words, however, without either the music or a translation,

* Voyage to New Zealand.
† Voyage to New Zealand, vol. i. p. 72.
‡ Id. vol. ii. pp. 219, 220.

it is needless to transcribe them. The airs he describes as in general melodious and agreeable, and as having a resemblance to our chanting. One of the songs which he gives, is that which is always sung at the feast which takes place when the planting of the potatoes commences. "It describes," he says, "the havoc occasioned by the violence of an east wind—their potatoes are destroyed by it—they plant them again, and being more successful, they express their joy while taking them out of the ground, with the words, *ah kiki! ah kiki! ah kiki!*—eat away! eat away! eat away! Which is the conclusion of the song." Of another, "the subject is a man carving a canoe, when his enemies approach the shore in a canoe to attack him; endeavouring to conceal himself, he runs in among the bushes, but is pursued, overtaken, and immediately put to death *." Every more remarkable occasion of their rude and turbulent life seems to have its appropriate song. The planting of their potatoes, the gathering in of the crop, the commencement of the battle, the interment of the dead, are all celebrated, each by its peculiar chorus,—as well as, probably, most of their other customary excitements, both of mirth and of mourning.

The New Zealanders have a variety of national dances; but none of them have been minutely described. Some of them are said to display much grace of movement; others are chiefly remarkable for the extreme violence with which they are performed. As among the other South Sea tribes, when there are more dancers than one, the most perfect uniformity of step and attitude is preserved by all of them; and they do not consider it a dance at all when this rule is not attended to. Captain Dillon very much amused some of those who came on board his ship by a sample of English dancing, which he

* Voyage to New Zealand, vol. i. pp. 68, 71.

made his men give them on deck. A company of soldiers going through the manual exercise would certainly have come much nearer their notions of what a dance ought to be.

Musician of New Zealand.

We are as yet very imperfectly informed in regard to the distinctions of rank, and other matters appertaining to the constitution of society, in New Zealand. It would appear, however, that, as among most other Asiatic races, the great body of the people are in a state approaching to what we should call slavery, or vassalage, to the few owners of the soil. Yet we are nearly altogether ignorant of the

real extent of the authority possessed by the latter over the former. Some circumstances seem to indicate, that in so far as respects the right of commanding their services, the chiefs are not absolutely the masters of the common people who live within their territories; while, on the other hand, they would appear to have the power, in some cases, of even putting them to death, according to their mere pleasure. Although there are no written laws in New Zealand, all these matters are, no doubt, regulated by certain universally understood rules, liberal enough, in all probability, in the licence which they allow to the tyranny of the privileged class, but still fixing some boundaries to its exercise, which will accordingly be but rarely overstepped. Thus, the power which the chief seems to enjoy of depriving any of his slaves of life, may be limited to certain occasions only; as, for instance, the death of some member of the family, whose manes, it is conceived, demand to be propitiated by such an offering. That in such cases slaves are often sacrificed in New Zealand, we have abundant evidence. Captain Cruise even informs us, that when a son of one of the chiefs died in Mr. Marsden's house, in New South Wales, it required the interposition of that gentleman's authority to prevent some of the boy's countrymen, who were with him, from killing a few of their slaves, in honour of their deceased friend *. On other occasions, it is likely that the life of the slave can only be taken when he has been convicted of some delinquency; although, as the chief is the sole judge of his criminality, he will find this, it may be thought, but a slight protection. The domestic slaves of the chiefs, however, it is quite possible, and even likely, are much more completely at the mercy of their caprice and passion, than the general body of the common

* Cruise's Journal, p. 309.

people, whose vassalage may, after all, consist in little more than the obligation of following them to their wars, and rendering them obedience in such other matters of public concern. Between the chiefs and the common people, who, as we have already mentioned, are called Cookees, there seems to be also a pretty numerous class, distinguished by the name of Rungateedas, or, as it has been more recently written, Rangatiras, which appears to answer nearly to the English term gentry. It consists of those who are connected by relationship with the families of the chiefs; and who, though not possessed of any territorial rights, are, as well as the chiefs themselves, looked upon as almost of a different species from the inferior orders, from whom they are probably as much separated in their political condition and privileges as they are in the general estimation of their rank and dignity. The term *rangatira*, indeed, in its widest signification, includes the chiefs themselves, just as our English epithet *gentleman* does the highest personages in the realm. Although there is no general government in New Zealand, the chiefs differ from each other in power; and some of them seem even to exercise, in certain respects, a degree of authority over others. Those who are called *areekees**, in particular, are represented as of greatly superior rank to the common chiefs, though it is difficult to say whether or no the one consider themselves as actually in subjection to the other. If any such supremacy is at all recognized as belonging to the areekees, it may be safely affirmed that the degree of control which it gives them over the conduct of the other chiefs is extremely insignificant. It was probably, however, a

* *Areekee* is probably the same with *Earee Rahie*, which signifies Great Chief, at the Society Isles. The latter part of it seems to be a corruption of the Sanscrit Rajah, whence the Latin Rex.

chief of this class of whom Cook heard at various places where he put in along the east coast of the northern island, on his first visit to the country. He calls him Teratu; and he found his authority to extend, he says, from Cape Turnagain to the neighbourhood of Mercury Bay*. The eight districts, too, into which this island was divided by Toogee, in the map of it which he drew for Captain King, were in all likelihood the nominal territories, or what we may call feudal domains, of so many areekees.

The account which Rutherford gives of the law, or custom, which prevails in New Zealand in regard to the crime of theft, may seem, at first sight, to be somewhat irreconcileable with the statements of other authorities, who tell us that this crime is regarded by the natives in so heinous a light, that its usual punishment is death; whereas, according to him, it would seem scarcely to be considered by them as a crime at all. This apparent disagreement, however, arises, in all probability, merely from that misapprehension, or imperfect conception, of the customs of a foreign people into which we are so apt to be misled by the tendency we have to mix up constantly our own previously acquired notions with the simple facts that present themselves to us, and to explain the latter by the former. With our habits and improved ideas of morality, we see in theft both a trespass upon the arbitrary enactments of society, which demands the correction of the civil magistrate, and a violation of that natural equity which is independent of all political arrangements, and would make it unfair and wrong for one man to take to himself what belongs to another, although there were no such thing as what is commonly called a government in existence. But in the mind of the New Zealander these simple notions of right and wrong have been

* Cook's First Voyage.

warped, and, as it were, suffocated, by a multitude of unnatural and monstrous inventions, which have grown up along with them from his very birth. How misapplied are the epithets natural and artificial when employed, as they often are, to characterise the savage and civilized state! It is the former, in truth, which is by far the most artificial; and much of civilization consists in the abolition of the numerous devices by which it has falsified and perverted the natural dispositions of the human heart and understanding, and in the reformation of society upon principles more accordant with their unsophisticated dictates. Probably the only case in which the New Zealander looks upon theft as a moral crime, is when it is accompanied by a breach of hospitality, or is committed upon those who have, in the customary and understood manner, entrusted themselves to his friendship and honour. In any other circumstances, he will scarcely hold himself disgraced by any act of depredation which he can contrive to accomplish without detection; however much the fear of not escaping with impunity may often deter him from making the attempt. Then, as for the estimation in which the crime is politically held,—this, we need not doubt, will be very much regulated by the relative situation in regard to rank of the two parties. Most of the European visitors who have hitherto given us an account of the country have mixed chiefly with the higher classes of its inhabitants, and consequently learned but little with regard to the condition of the great body of the population, except in so far as it affected, or was affected by, that of the chiefs. Hence the impression they have taken up, that theft in New Zealand is looked upon as one of the worst of crimes, and always punished with death. It is so, we have no doubt, when committed by one of the common people upon any of the privileged class. In

that case, the mean and despised condition of the delinquent, as compared with that of the person whose rights he has dared to invade, converts what might otherwise have scarcely been deemed a transgression at all into something little short of sacrilege. The thief is therefore knocked on the head at once, or strung up on a gallows;—for that, too, seems to be one of the modes of public punishment for this species of crime in New Zealand. This severity is demanded by the necessity which is felt of upholding the social edifice in its integrity; and is also altogether in keeping with the slight regard in which the lives of the lower orders are universally held, and the love of bloodshed by which this ferocious people is distinguished. But when one cookee, or common man, pilfers from another, it is quite another matter. In this case, the act entirely wants those aggravations which, in the estimation of a New Zealander, give it all its criminality; and the parties, besides, are so insignificant, that the notion of avenging any injury which the one may have suffered from the other by the public execution of the offender, would probably be deemed in that country nearly as unreasonable as we should hold a proposal for the application of such a scheme of government in correction of the quarrels and other irregularities of the lower animals. It need not, therefore, surprise us to be told,—especially when we consider also the trivial value of any articles of property they possess,—that thieving among the common people there is regarded, not as a crime, but as an art, in which, as in other arts, the skilful and dexterous practitioner deserves reward rather than punishment—nearly as it was regarded among the Spartans, who punished the detected thief, indeed, but not so much for his attempt as for his failure *; or more nearly still as it is said to have been among

* Plutarch, in Vita Lycurgi.

the ancient Egyptians, by whom such acts were, in all cases, allowed to be perpetrated with impunity *.

This view will go far to explain various incidents which we find noticed in the different accounts of New Zealand. The reports of the missionaries, in particular, abound with notices of individuals put to death by the chiefs for alleged acts of theft; but in every case of this kind which is mentioned, the person punished is, we believe, a slave. We have observed no instance noted, in which the crime in question was punished, either with death or in any other way, when committed by one cookee on the property of another; and it is abundantly evident, from many things which are stated, that the natives themselves really do not consider the act as implying, in ordinary cases, that moral turpitude which we generally impute to it. In one case which Mr. Marsden mentions †, the brother of a chief, named Ahoudee Ogunna, conceiving himself to have been improperly treated by one of the missionaries, stole two earthen pots from another of them; but the explanation which the chief gave of the matter was, that his brother had not stolen the pots, but had only taken them away with an intention to bring on an explanation respecting the conduct which had given him offence. The man's expectation here evidently was, that his theft (if it was to be so called) would merely have the effect of making the missionaries as angry as he himself was, and so of rendering both parties equally anxious for a full discussion of their differences. He had himself, as he conceived, been affronted in a manner not to be passed over; and his stealing of the pots he meant merely as a spirited act of retaliation, which would in some degree throw back the insult he had

* Aulus Gellius, lib. xi. cap. 18.

† Journal of Second Visit, p. 296.

received upon those who had inflicted it, and make them in their turn feel mortified, and on fire for satisfaction. He certainly did not imagine for a moment that he was at all degrading himself by the method he adopted for attaining this end. The degradation, in his conception of the matter, would be all with the party robbed. He had, however, in his anger, forgotten one thing, which, according even to the notions of the New Zealanders, it was most material that he should have remembered, as his more considerate brother felt as soon as he heard of the transaction, and as even he himself was afterwards brought to acknowledge. The chief, besides having experienced much kindness from the missionaries, was the very person from whom they had purchased the ground on which their settlement was established, and on whose friendship, at least, they had therefore a fair right to count, if they were not even to regard themselves as in some degree under his special protection. That personage felt the force of these considerations so strongly, that, in order to show how much he was vexed and ashamed at his brother's conduct, he burned his own house to the ground, and left his usual place of residence, with a determination never to return to it so long as his brother lived. On the morning of his departure, the high-spirited chief came to take leave of the missionaries, when he told them that he had been on the spot where his house stood before he burned it, to weep with his friends, and showed them how much he had lacerated his face, arms, and other parts of his body, in which his friends had followed his example*. His brother, too, at last came to them, quite penitent for his hasty conduct, and offered to restore the only one of the pots which he still had, the other having been already stolen from him by one of his countrymen.

* Journal of Second Visit, p. 302.

Accordingly, he soon after sent his son with the article; and the boy having been presented with six fish-hooks, he immediately brought them back, with a message, that his father would take nothing for the pot.

Such acts of retaliation as that to which the brother of Ahoudee Ogunna here had recourse, are often resorted to by the chiefs with something of a similar design, to avenge themselves, namely, for injuries which they conceive they have sustained, or to bring about those ulterior measures by which they may obtain for their grievances complete atonement or redress. In this way, many wars arise. But it is a point of honour with a chief never to touch what belongs to those who have trusted themselves to his friendship, and against whom he has no claim for satisfaction on account of any old affront or outrage. To be supposed capable of doing so, would be felt by any of them as an intolerable imputation. We find a striking instance of this, to pass over many others that might be quoted, in the conduct of Tetoro, who returned home to New Zealand from Port Jackson, along with Captain Cruise, in the Dromedary. It was thought necessary, during the passage, to take from this chief a box containing some gunpowder, which he had got with him, and to lodge it in the magazine until the ship arrived at New Zealand. "Though every exertion," says Captain Cruise, "was used, to explain the reason why he was requested to give it up, and the strongest assurances made that it should be restored hereafter, he either could not or would not understand what was said to him. Upon parting with the property, which, next to his musket, was in his eyes the greatest treasure in the world, he fell into an agony of grief and despair which it was quite distressing to witness, repeatedly exclaiming, 'No good;' and, rolling

himself up in his mat, he declined the conversation of every one. He remained in this state so long, that the powder was at length brought back; but he refused to take it, saying, 'that they might again put it in the magazine, since they must now be aware that he had not stolen it'*." Similar to that of Tetoro, was the conduct of a chief whom Mr. Marsden met with on his first visit to New Zealand, and who was so much grieved and ashamed at the circumstance of one of his dependants having stolen some trifle from that gentleman, that he sat for two days and nights on the deck of the ship, and could not be prevailed upon to enter the cabin†.

New Zealand Chief.

* Journal, p. 10.

† Journal of First Visit, in Missionary Register for 1816, p. 512.

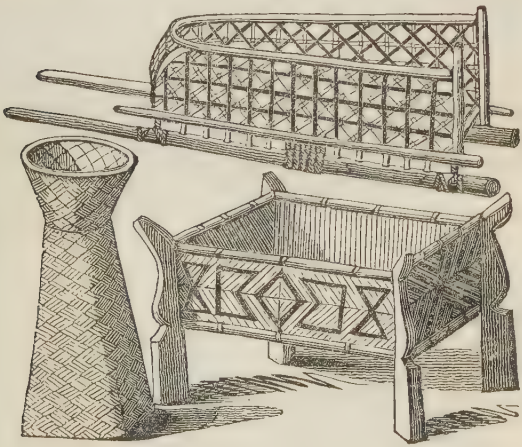
Chapter IX.

Dirty habits of New Zealanders.—Method of curing fish.—Baskets.—Rutherford's Journey into the Interior.—Notice of Pomaree.—Method of preserving human heads.—Comparison with customs of other nations.—Further notice of Pomaree.

With regard to many of the other habits of the New Zealanders, Rutherford in general corroborates the testimony of other travellers. He mentions particularly their extreme inattention to personal cleanliness—a circumstance which very much surprised Mr. Nicholas, as it seemed to present an unaccountable contrast to the neatness and order which were usually to be found both in their plantations and huts. All the natives, Rutherford states, are overrun with vermin, which lodge not only in their heads, but in their mats. "Their way of destroying them in their mats," he adds, "is by making a fire, on which having thrown a quantity of green bushes, they spread the mat over the whole, when the steam from the leaves compels the vermin to retreat to the surface: these the women are very active in catching on such occasions with both hands, and devouring greedily. Sometimes two or three will be catching them at the same mat."

The New Zealanders cure their fish, Rutherford tells us, by dipping them a great many times in salt water, and then drying them in the sun. The large mussels they first bake in the usual manner, and then, taking them out of the shell, string them together, and hang them up over the fire to dry in the smoke. Thus prepared, they eat like old cheese, and will keep for

years. The coomeras, or sweet potatoes, are also cured in the same manner, which makes them eat like gingerbread. Their potatoes the natives pack in baskets made of green flax, and in this way preserve them for the winter. There are, however, three months in the year during which they live upon little except turnips, and at this time they do with almost no drink. The baskets in which they keep their provisions, and apply to other domestic purposes, are formed with considerable ingenuity, and with some taste, in their decorations. The following are from specimens in the Museum of the Church Missionary Society:



Baskets.

Notwithstanding the stormy seas by which their islands are surrounded, and the woods, swamps, and rivers, which oppose such difficulties in the way of passing from one place to another through the heart of the country, the New Zealanders are known to

be in the habit of making long journeys, both along the coasts in their canoes, and through the interior on foot. Rutherford gives us some account of a journey which he once accomplished in company with the chief Aimy. "I took," says he, "my wife Epecka with me, and we were attended by about twenty slave-women to carry our provisions, every one of whom bore on her back, besides a supply for her own consumption, about thirty pounds of potatoes, and drove before her at the same time a pig, which she held by a string tied to its fore-leg. The men never travel without being armed. Our journey was made sometimes by water and sometimes by land; and, proceeding in this manner, we arrived, in about a month, at a place called Taranake, on the coast of Cook's Straits, where we were received by Otago, a great chief, who had come from near the South Cape*. On meeting we saluted each other in the customary manner by touching noses, and there was also a great deal of crying, as usual. Here I saw an Englishman, named James Mowry, who told me that he had formerly been a boy belonging to a ship called the Sydney Cove, which had put in near the South Cape, when a boat's crew, of which he was one, had been sent on shore for the purpose of trading with the natives. They were attacked, however, and every man of them killed except himself, he having been indebted for his preservation to his youth and the protection of Otago's daughter: this lady he had since married. He had now been

* Probably Cook's Cape Palliser, the south-eastern extremity of the northern island. It is not impossible that Taranake may be the place called by Cook Tierawittee; but we incline to think it must be some other place further to the west. It is to be remembered, however, that Cook was told that the name Tierawittee comprehended all the coast on the north side of the strait. See First Voyage.

eight years in the country, and had become so completely reconciled to the manners and way of life of the natives, that he had resolved never to leave it. He was twenty-four years of age, handsome, and of middle size, and had been well tattooed. He had also been made a chief, and had often accompanied the natives to their wars. He spoke their language, and had forgotten a great deal of his own. He told me he had heard of the capture of our ship, and gave me an account of the deaths of Smith and Watson, two of my unfortunate shipmates. I, in turn, related to him my story, and what I had gone through.

"The village of Taranake stands by the sea-side, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants are the same as prevail in other parts of the island. We remained here six weeks; and during this time I employed myself in looking out for a ship passing through the straits, by which I might make my escape, but was never fortunate enough to see one. I kept my intention, however, a secret from Mowry, for he was too much attached to the natives for me to trust him.

"On leaving Taranake we took our way along the coast, and after a journey of six weeks arrived at the East Cape, where we met with a great chief, named Bomurry, belonging to the Bay of Islands. He told us that he resided in the neighbourhood of Mr. Kendal, the missionary. He had about five hundred warriors with him, and several war-canoes, in one of which I observed a trunk, having on it the name of Captain Brin, of the Asp, South Seaman. These people had also with them a number of muskets, with polished barrels, and a few small kegs of powder, as well as a great quantity of potatoes and flax mats. They had plundered and murdered nearly every person that lived between the East Cape and

the river Thames; and the whole country dreaded the name of Bomurry. This great warrior shewed us several of the heads of the chiefs whom he had killed on this expedition; and which, he said, he intended to carry back with him to the Bay of Islands, to sell for gunpowder to the ships that touched there. He and his followers having taken leave of us, and set sail in their canoes, we also left the East Cape the day following, and proceeded on our journey homewards, travelling during the day, and encamping at night in the woods, where we slept around large fires under the branches of the trees. In this way we arrived in four days at our own village, where I was received by Eshou, my eldest wife, with great joy. I was much fatigued by my journey, as was also my other wife, Epecka, who had accompanied me."

The person whom Rutherford here calls Bomurry is doubtless the chief described in most of the other recent accounts of New Zealand under the name of Pomaree, or Pomarree*, one of the most extraordinary characters in that country. He had taken this name instead of another by which he used to be called, Mr. Nicholas informs us, a short time before he first saw him in 1815, because he had heard that it was that of the king of Otaheite, according to the practice which prevails among his countrymen of frequently changing their names, and calling themselves after persons of whose power or rank they have conceived a high idea†. Pomaree is described by this gentleman as having been looked upon, even in his own country, as a monster of rapacity and cruelty, always involved in quarrels with his neighbours, and in the habit of stealing their property whenever he had an opportunity. Duaterra asserted that on a recent occasion he had made an incur-

* Captain Dillon writes the name *Boo Marray*.

† Nicholas's Voyage to New Zealand, i. 241.

sion into his territory, and, without any provocation, murdered six of his people, the bodies of all of whom he afterwards devoured, not even their heads having escaped his gluttony, after he had stuck them upon a stick and roasted them at the fire*. The New Zealand chiefs, however, not excepting the most respectable among them, were found to be sadly given to calumniate one another by all sorts of fictions; and even Pomaree, bad as he really was, seems sometimes to have been worse reported of by the others than he deserved. Upon another occasion Korro-korro told a long story about a design which he said had been formed to cut off the ship belonging to the missionaries, and of which he maintained that Pomaree was the principal instigator; but this was afterwards discovered to be a mere invention of that otherwise very honourable chief†. Notwithstanding Pomaree's bad reputation, indeed, it is remarkable that we do not find a single instance anywhere recorded in which any European had reason to complain of his conduct. Mr. Nicholas was once dreadfully alarmed by the apprehension that he had decoyed away his friend, Mr. Marsden, to murder him; but was very soon relieved by the return of the reverend gentleman from a friendly walk which he had been enjoying, in the company of his supposed assassin, through one of the woods on his territory.

Pomaree, in truth, was too thoroughly aware of the advantages to be derived from the visits of the Europeans, to think of exercising his murderous propensities upon their persons, however fond he might have been of embruing his hands in the blood of his own countrymen. "We found Pomaree," says Mr. Nicholas, "to be a very extraordinary character; he was of more service to us in procuring timber than

* Nicholas's Voyage, p. 296. † Id. p. 385.

all the other chiefs put together; and I never met, in any part of the world, with a man who showed so much impatient avidity for transacting business. His abilities, too, in this line were very great; he was an excellent judge of several articles, and could give his opinion of an axe as well as any European: while handling it with ecstacy the moment he got it in his possession, his eyes would still feast themselves on so valuable an acquisition." He then relates an anecdote of him which strikingly corresponds with one of the circumstances which Rutherford mentions —his custom of trafficking in preserved heads. "This man," continues Mr. Nicholas, "displayed upon every occasion a more uncomplying spirit of independence than any of the other chiefs. It is customary with the New Zealanders to preserve from putrefaction, by a curious method, the heads of the enemies they have slain in battle; and Pomaree had acquired so great a proficiency in this art, that he was considered the most expert at it of any of his countrymen. The process, as I was informed, consists of taking out the brains, and drying the head in such a manner as to keep the flesh entire; but in doing this an uncommon degree of skill and experience is required. Mr. Marsden put some questions to Pomaree one day about the plan he pursued in this art, that gave him so decided a superiority over the others; but he was not willing to make him a direct reply, as he knew it was a subject on which we reflected with horror, and one which in its detail must be shocking to our feelings. But my friend asking him if he could procure a head preserved in this manner, it occurred to him that he might receive an axe for his trouble; and this idea made the man of business not only enter into a copious explanation of his system, but induced him also to offer us a sample of his practice, by telling us, he would

go and shoot some people who had killed his son, if we would supply him with powder for the purpose; and then, bringing back their heads, would shew us all we wished to know about his art of preserving them. It will easily be supposed that this sanguinary proposal immediately put an end to all further interrogatories; and Mr. Marsden, whose motive for questioning him on the subject was, not to discover the nature of a practice so revolting to humanity, but to develope more fully the character of the individual, told him he must fight no more, and desired him, in positive terms, never to attempt to bring any sample of his art on board, as he had no intention of seeing it himself at the time he inquired about it, nor would he suffer any one in the ship to countenance such a shocking exhibition. This was a sad disappointment to Pomaree, who found himself deceived in the hopes he had formed of increasing his wealth by the addition of another axe; and I cannot help believing that, for so tempting a reward, he would not have hesitated to take the life of the first person that came in his way, provided he could have done it with impunity... This chief omitted no opportunity of setting forth his great personal qualifications, as likewise the extensive authority he possessed; and he was constantly boasting of his warlike achievements, despising his rivals, and extolling himself over all the other heroes of New Zealand."

Captain Cruise has given us a short account of the manner of preserving heads; and we find it also detailed in Rutherford's Journal, somewhat more minutely. According to him the skull is first completely emptied of its contents, the eyes and tongue being likewise extracted; after which the nostrils and entire inside of the skull are stuffed with flax. At the neck, where the head has been cut from the body, they draw the skin together like the mouth of a purse,

leaving, however, an open space large enough to admit the hand. They then wrap it up in a quantity of green leaves, and in this state expose it to the fire till it is well steamed; after which the leaves are taken off, and it is next hung up to dry in the smoke, which causes the flesh to become tough and hard. Both the hair and teeth are preserved, and the tattooing on the face remains as plain as when the person was alive. The head, when thus cured, will keep for ever, if it be preserved dry. Captain Cruise says, that the heads are only exposed to a current of dry air; but it appears, from Rutherford's account, that they are hung in the smoke of a wood fire, and are thus, in fact, preserved from decaying principally by being impregnated with the pyroligneous acid. That the New Zealanders are well acquainted with the antiseptic powers of this extract, is proved also by what was formerly stated as to their method of curing mussels. A French writer considers that this art of preserving heads is a proof of some original connexion between the New Zealanders and the ancient world; as the process is as effective as that by which the Egyptians prepared their mummies*.

In savage countries, the spirit of war is very much a spirit of personal hostility; and both because of this, and from the state of society not admitting of the erection of expensive public memorials which elsewhere, or in another age, are employed to preserve the renown of military exploits, the barbarian victor generally celebrates his triumph on the body of his slain enemy, in disfiguring which he first exercises his ingenuity, and afterwards in converting it into a permanent trophy of his prowess. The ancient Scythian warrior, Herodotus tells us †, was wont to carry away the heads of all those whom he slew in battle, to present to his king; and the ancient Gauls, it is

* Dict. Class Hist. Nat., Art. *Homme*. † Lib. iv.

said, used to hang these bloody spoils around the necks of their horses*. The Gauls are asserted to have also been in the practice of embalming the heads which they brought home from their wars, of which they had large collections, which they kept in chests. These they used to show with much exultation to the strangers who visited their country; boasting that neither they nor their ancestors had ever been known to dispose of such honourable heir-looms for any price that could be offered†. Among some races it has been the custom to preserve only the scalp; as, for instance, among the Indians of America. The taking of scalps, however, is also a practice of great antiquity. The Scythians used to hang the scalps of their enemies to the harness of their horses; and he was deemed the most distinguished warrior whose equipage was most plentifully decorated with these ornaments. Some were accustomed to sew numbers of scalps together, so as to form a cloak, in which they arrayed themselves. It was also usual for the warriors of this nation to tear off the skin from the right hands of their slain enemies, and to preserve it with the nails attached; and sometimes they flayed the whole body, and after drying the skin, made use of it as a covering for their horses‡. Some of the savage tribes of America are said to have been accustomed to practise the same barbarity, and to convert the skins of the hands into pouches for holding their tobacco§. The history of Scotland affords an instance, even in comparatively recent times, of a victorious party, in the bitterness of their contempt and hatred, employing the skin of a slain enemy in a somewhat similar manner. Hugh Cressingham, appointed by Edward I. Lord Chief Justice of Scotland, having

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. † Id.
‡ Herodotus, lib. iv. § Lafitau, iii. 236.

been slain at Stirling Bridge in an attack by Wallace, the Scots flayed him, and made saddles and girths of his skin. To recur to the practices of a higher state of civilization, our own custom, which existed as late as the last century, of exposing the heads of traitors, although meant as a warning, in the same way as hanging in chains, was perhaps a relic of those ferocious ages when it was not considered mean and brutal to carry revenge beyond the grave. The executions in London, after the rebellion of 1745, were followed by such a revolting display;—useless for any object of salutary terror, and calculated only to excite a vulgar curiosity. Horace Walpole, in a very few words, describes the feelings with which the public crowded to this sight:—"I have been this morning at the Tower, and passed under the new heads at Temple Bar, where people make a trade of letting spying glasses at a halfpenny a look*." The New Zealanders have, therefore, in some degree, a justification for this custom in the somewhat similar acts of civilized communities. At any rate, in preserving, as they do, the heads of their enemies, they only follow a practice which has been common to many other barbarous tribes.

Although Pomaree, it would appear, made a merchandize of these heads when he had the opportunity, his countrymen, in general, are far from treating them with so much disrespect. It was with great reluctance that some of them were prevailed upon to sell one to Mr. Banks, when he was with Cook in Queen Charlotte's Sound, in 1770; and nothing could induce them to part with a second. They are, in fact, preserved as spoils or trophies during the continuance of the war; and their restoration to the party from whom they have been taken is so indispensable a preliminary to the conclusion

* Private Correspondence, vol. i. p. 151.

of a peace, that it is said no chief would dispose of them, unless it were his determination never to come to terms with his opponents: so that we may suppose this was what Pomaree had resolved upon. The brain is eaten, like the rest of the body; and the eyes are also frequently devoured by the conqueror, especially the left eye, which, it is believed, ascends to heaven and becomes a star. Shungie is stated, upon one occasion, to have eaten the left eye of a great chief whom he had killed in battle, under the idea of thus increasing the glory and brightness of his own left eye, when it should be transferred to the firmament; for it is understood that when any one eats of the person he has killed, the dead man becomes a part of himself *.

Mr. Nicholas tells another amusing story of Pomaree's style of doing 'business,' which we shall also give in his own words. "This wily chief," says he, "had cast a longing eye upon a chisel belonging to one of the missionaries, and to obtain it he had brought some fish on board, which he presented to the owner of the chisel with so much apparent generosity and friendliness, that the other could not help considering it a gratuitous favour, and, receiving it as such, told him he felt very grateful for his kindness. But Pomaree had no idea of any such disinterested liberality, and as soon as the fish were eaten, he immediately demanded the chisel in return; which, however, was not granted, as it was a present much too valuable to be given away for so trifling a consideration. Incensed at the denial, the chief flew into a violent rage, and testified, by loud reproaches, how grievously he was provoked by the ill-success of his project. He told the person who very properly refused to comply with his demand, that 'he was no good,' and that he would never again bring him any

* Journal of Mr. Marsden's Second Visit, p. 302.

thing more. He attempted the same crafty experiment upon another of our party also, but this proved equally abortive; the person being well aware of his character, and knowing he would require from him ten times more than the worth of his pretended favour."

Though so covetous and crafty himself, however, Pomaree had no mercy to show for the delinquencies of others. On one occasion, when a poor cookee had been detected in the commission of some petty theft about the vessel, he was loud in his exhortations to the captain to hang him up immediately. The man appears, indeed, to have been altogether divested even of those natural affections which scarcely any of his savage countrymen but himself were found to be without. When Mr. Marsden and Mr. Nicholas left New Zealand, a number of the chiefs sent their sons with them to Port Jackson; and such a scene of anguish took place on the parting between the parents and their children, that there was no European present, Mr. Nicholas says, not excepting the most obdurate sailor on board, who was not more or less affected. "But I cannot help noticing," he adds, "that in the general expression of inconsolable distress, Pomaree was the only person who showed no concern; he took leave of his son with all the indifference imaginable, and hurrying into his canoe, paddled back to the shore—a solitary exception to the affecting sensibility of his countrymen." Even Pomaree, however, could weep on some occasions—as the following account which Mr. Marsden gives us of an interview he had with him four or five years after this will show. "He told me," says Mr. Marsden, "that he was very angry that I had not brought a blacksmith for him; and that when he heard that there was no blacksmith for him, he sat down and wept much, and also his wives. I assured him that he should

have one, as soon as one could be got for him. He replied, it would be of no use to him to send a blacksmith when he was dead; and that he was at present in the greatest distress: his wooden spades were all broke, and he had not an axe to make any more; his canoes were all broke, and he had not a nail or a gimlet to mend them with; his potatoe grounds were uncultivated, and he had not a hoe to break them up with, nor a tool to employ his people; and that, for want of cultivation, he and his people would have nothing to eat. He begged me to compare the land of Tippoonah, which belonged to the inhabitants of Ranghee-hoo and Shungie, with his; observing, that their land was already prepared for planting, because a smith was there, and they could get hoes, &c. I endeavoured to pacify his mind with promises, but he paid little attention to what I said in respect to sending him a smith at a future period." Pomaree was by much too cunning to be cheated of his object in this way. He was evidently determined not to go without something in hand; and nothing accordingly would drive him from his point. When Mr. Marsden tried to divert his attention to another subject by asking him if he should wish to go to England, he replied at once that he should not; adding, with his characteristic shrewdness, that he was a little man when at Port Jackson, and should be less in England; but in his own country he was a great king. The conference ended at last by an express promise that he should have immediately three hoes, an axe, a few nails, and a gimlet. This instantly put him in great good humour.

We have collected these notices in order to give a more complete illustration of so singular and interesting a character as that formed by the union of the rude

and blood-thirsty barbarian with the bustling trafficker. It is an exhibition of the savage mind in a new guise. We have only to add, with regard to Pomaree, that it appears by other authorities, as well as by the notice we find in Rutherford, that he was in the habit of making very devastating excursions occasionally to the southern part of the island. When Captain Cruise left New Zealand in 1820, he had been away on one of these expeditions nearly a year, nor was it known exactly where he had gone to. The people about the mouth of the Thames said they had seen him since he left home, but he had long ago left their district for one still farther south. The last notice we find of him, is in a letter from the Rev. H. Williams, in the Missionary Register for 1827, in which it is stated, that he had a short time before fallen in battle, having been cut to pieces, with many of his followers, by a tribe on whom he had made an attack. This event, of the circumstances of which Captain Dillon was furnished with a particular account by some of the near relations of the deceased chief, took place in the southern part of the island.

Chapter X.

Religious and superstitious notions.—Ideas of a future state of existence.—Power and rank of the Priests.—Supposed power of bewitching.—Opinions respecting dreams.

The New Zealanders, according to Rutherford, have neither priests, nor places of worship, nor any religion except their superstitious dread of the Atua. To an uneducated man, coming from a Christian country, the entire absence of all regular religious observances among these savages would very naturally give such an impression. Cook ascertained that they had no *morais*, or temples, like some of the other tribes of the South Seas; but he met with persons who evidently bore what we should call the priestly character. The New Zealanders are certainly not without some notions of religion; and, in many particulars, they are a remarkably superstitious people. During the whole course of their lives, the imagined presence of the unseen and supernatural crosses them at every step. What has been already stated respecting the taboo may give some idea of how submissive and habitual is their sense of the power of the Divinity, and how entirely they conceive themselves to be in his hands; as well as what a constant and prying superintendence they imagine him to exercise over their conduct. It would be easy to enumerate many minor superstitions, all indicative of the extraordinary influence of the same belief. They think, for instance, that if they were

to allow a fire to be lighted under a shed where there are provisions, their God would kill them. They have many superstitions, also, with regard to cutting their hair. Cook speaks, in the account of his third voyage, of a young man he had taken on board the ship, and who, having one day performed this ceremony, could not be prevailed upon to eat a morsel till night, insisting that the Atua would most certainly kill him if he did. Captain Cruise tells us, that Tetoro, on the voyage from Port Jackson, cut the hair of one of his companions, and continued to repeat prayers over him during the whole operation. Mr. Nicholas, having one day found another chief busy in cutting his wife's hair with a piece of sharp stone, was going to take up the implement after it had been used, but was immediately charged by the chief not to touch it, as the Deity of New Zealand would wreak his vengeance on him if he presumed to commit so daring a piece of impiety. "Laughing at his superstition," continues Mr. Nicholas, "I began to exclaim against its absurdity but like Tooi, on a former occasion, he retorted by ridiculing our preaching, yet at the same time asking me to sermonize over his wife, as if his object was to have her exorcised; and upon my refusing, he began himself, but could not proceed from involuntary bursts of laughter." On this occasion, the chief, when he had cut off the hair, collected it all together, and, carrying it to the outskirts of the town, threw it away. Cook remarks, that he used to see quantities of hair tied to the branches of the trees near the villages. It is stated, in a letter from one of the missionaries, that the hair, when cut, is carefully collected, and buried in a secret place*.

Certain superstitions have been connected with the

* Missionary Register for 1826, p. 613.

cutting of the hair, from the most ancient times. Many allusions are found in the Greek and Roman writers to the practice of cutting off the hair of the dead, and presenting it as an offering to the infernal gods, in order to secure a free passage to Elysium for the person to whom it belonged. The passage in the fourth book of the Æneid, where Iris appears by the command of Juno to liberate the soul of the expiring Queen of Carthage, by thus severing from her head the fatal lock, will occur to many of our readers. Whatever may have been the origin of this superstition, it is probable that most of the other notions and customs which have prevailed in regard to the cutting of the hair, are connected with it. The act in this way naturally became significant of the separation from the living world of the person on whom it was performed. Of the antiquity of this practice, we have a proof in a command given by Moses to the Jews*:—"Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead." These were superstitious customs of the nations by whom they were surrounded. The Gentiles used excessive lamentations amounting to frenzy, at their funeral rites. According to Bruce, the Abyssinian woman, upon the death of a near relation, cuts the skin of both her temples with the nail of her little finger, which she leaves long on purpose; and thus every fair face throughout the country is disfigured with scars. The same notion of abstraction from the present life and its concerns is expressed by the clerical tonsure, so long known in the Christian church, and still retained among the Roman Catholics. It is still common, also, among ourselves, for widows, in the earlier period of their mourning, to cut off their hair, or to remove it back from the brow. Among

* Deuteronomy, c. xiv. v. 1.

all rude nations, besides, the hair has been held in peculiar estimation from its ornamental nature, and its capability of being formed into any shape, according to the fancy of its possessor, or the fashion of the country. Amongst nations, especially, where the ordinary clothing of the people, from the materials of which it was formed, did not admit of being made very decorative, this consideration would be much regarded, and still more where no clothing was worn at all. In such cases, the hair, either of the head or of the beard, has usually been cherished with very affectionate care, and the mode of dressing it has been made matter of anxious regulation. Many of the barbarous nations of antiquity had each a method of cutting the hair peculiar to itself; and it was sometimes accounted the deepest mark of servitude which a conqueror could impose, when he compelled the violation of this sacred rule of national manners. We have a remnant of these old feelings in the reverence with which his beard is regarded by a Turk of the present day. It is recorded, too, that no reform which Peter the Great of Russia essayed to introduce among his semi-barbarous subjects, was so pertinaciously resisted as his attempt to abbreviate their beards.

Mr. Marsden, on asking a New Zealander what he conceived the Atua* to be, was answered—"An immortal shadow†." Although possessed, however, of the attributes of immortality, omnipresence, invisibility, and supreme power, he is universally believed to be in disposition merely a vindictive and malignant demon. When one of the missionaries had one day been telling a number of

* The word *Atúa*, which is found in different forms in most of the other South Sea dialects, is in all probability the same term with the Sanscrit *Dewa*, the Greek Ζευς, and the Latin *Deus*.

† Journal of First Visit, p. 515.

them of the infinite goodness of God, they asked him if he was not joking with them*. They believe, as has been already mentioned, that whenever any person is sick, his illness is occasioned by the Atua, in the shape of a lizard, preying upon his entrails; and, accordingly, in such cases, they often address the most horrid imprecations and curses to the invisible cannibal, in the hope of thereby frightening him away†. They imagine, that at other times he amuses himself in entangling their nets and oversetting their canoes. Of late years they have suspected that he has been very angry with them for having allowed the white men to obtain a footing in their country,—a proof of which they think they see in the greater mortality that has recently prevailed among them‡. This, however, they at other times attribute to the God of the Christians, whom they also denounce, accordingly, as a cruel being, at least to the New Zealander. Sometimes they more rationally assign as its cause the diseases that have been introduced among them by the whites. Until the whites came to their country, they say, young people did not die, but all lived to be so old as to be obliged to creep on their hands and knees§.

The white man's God they believe to be altogether a different being from their own Atua. Mr. Marsden, in one of his letters, relates a conversation he had upon this subject with some of the chiefs' sons who resided with him in New South Wales. When he told them that there was but one God, and that our God was also theirs, they asked him if our God had given us any sweet potatoes, and could with diffi-

* Missionary Register for 1823, p. 510.

† Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for 1819, p. 203.

‡ Missionary Register for 1823, p. 197.

§ Id. for 1827, p. 627.

culty be made to see how one God should give these to the New Zealander and not equally to the white man; or, on the other hand, how he should have acted so partially as to give to the white man only such possessions as cattle, sheep, and horses, which the New Zealander as much required. The argument, however, upon which they seem most to have rested, was—"But we are of a different colour from you; and if one God made us both, he would not have committed such a mistake as to make us of different colours." Even one of the chiefs, who had been a great deal with Mr. Marsden, and was disposed to acknowledge the absurdity both of the taboo and of many of his other native superstitions, could not be brought to admit that the same God who made the white men had also made the New Zealanders *.

Among themselves, the New Zealanders appear to have a great variety of other gods, besides the one whom they call emphatically the Atua. Crozet speaks of some feeble ideas which they have of subordinate divinities, to whom, he says, they are wont to pray for victory over their enemies †. But Mr. Savage gives us a most particular account of their daily adoration of the sun, moon, and stars. Of the heavenly host, the moon, he says, is their favourite; though why he should think so, it is not easy to understand, seeing that, when addressing this luminary, they employ, he tells us, a mournful song, and seem as full of apprehension as of devotion: whereas "when paying their adoration to the rising sun, the arms are spread and the head bowed, with the appearance of much joy in their countenances, accompanied with a degree of elegant and reverential solemnity, and the song used upon the oc-

* Missionary Register for 1822, p. 442.

† Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud, p. 130.

casion is cheerful." It is strange that none of their other visitors have remarked the existence of this species of idolatry among these savages. Yet two New Zealanders, who are now in this country, were in the habit of commencing the exhibition of their national customs with the ceremonies practised in their morning devotion to the sun. The vocal part of the rite, according to the account we have received, consisted in a low monotonous chant; the manual, in keeping a ball about the size of an orange constantly whirling in a vertical circle. The whole was performed in a kneeling posture. Like most other rude nations, the New Zealanders have certain fancies with regard to several of the more remarkable constellations; and are not without some conception that the issues of human affairs are occasionally influenced, or at least indicated, by the movements of the stars. The Pleiades, for instance, they believe to be seven of their departed countrymen, fixed in the firmament; one eye of each of them appearing in the shape of a star, being the only part that is visible *. But it is a common superstition among them, as we have already noticed, that the left eyes of their chiefs, after death, become stars.

This notion is far from being destitute of poetical beauty; and perhaps, indeed, exhibits the common mythological doctrine of the glittering host of heaven being merely an assemblage of the departed heroes of earth, in as ingenious a version as it ever has received. It would be easy to collect many proofs of the extensive diffusion of this ancient faith, traces of which are to be found in the primitive astronomy of every people. The classical reader will at once recollect,

* Nicholas's Voyage to New Zealand, vol. i. p. 52.

among many others of a similar kind *, the stories of Castor and Pollux, and of Berenice's tresses—the latter of which has been so elegantly imitated by Pope, in telling us the fate of the vanished lock of Belinda:—

> "But trust the muse—she saw it upward rise,
> Though marked by none but quick poetic eyes;
> (So Rome's great founder to the heavens withdrew,
> To Proculus alone confessed to view);
> A sudden star it shot through liquid air,
> And drew behind a radiant trail of hair."

The New Zealanders conceive also, that what we call a shooting star is ominous of the approaching dissolution of any one of their great chiefs who may be unwell when it is seen †. Like the vulgar among ourselves, too, they have their man in the moon; who, they say, is one of their countrymen named Rona, who was taken up long ago, one night when he went to the well to fetch water ‡.

Mr. Nicholas has given us, on the authority of his friend Duaterra, the most particular account that has appeared of the inferior deities of New Zealand. Their number, according to him, is very great, and each of them has his distinct powers and functions; one being placed over the elements, another over the fowls and fishes, and so of the rest. Deifications of the different passions and affections, also, it seems, find a place in this extended mythology. In another part of his work, Mr. Nicholas remarks, as corroborative of the Malay descent of the New Zealanders, the singular coincidence, in some respects, between their mythology and that of

* See an enumeration in Hygini, Fabularum Lib., cap. 224.

† Proceedings of Church Missionary Society, vol. v. p. 557.

‡ Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 60. See Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland, vol. i.

the ancient Malay tribe, the Battas of Sumatra, (whose extraordinary cannibal practices we have already detailed); especially in the circumstance of the three principal divinities of the Battas having precisely the same functions assigned to them with the three that occupy the same rank in the system of the New Zealanders.

It is very remarkable, that the New Zealanders attribute the creation of man to their three principal deities acting together; thus exhibiting, in their barbarous theology, something like a shadow of the Christian Trinity*. What is still more extraordinary is, their tradition respecting the formation of the first woman, who, they say, was made of one of the man's ribs; and their general term for *bone* is *hevee*, or, as Professor Lee gives it, *iwi*—a sound bearing a singular resemblance to the Hebrew name of our first mother†.

Particular individuals and places would also seem to have their own gods. When the Active was in the river Thames, a gale of wind, by which the ship was attacked, was attributed by the natives on board to the anger of the god of Shoupah, the Areekee who resided in the neighbourhood. Korro-korro, who was among them, said, that as soon as he got on shore he would endeavour to prevail upon the Areekee to propitiate the offended deity‡. When Mr. Marsden asked the people of Kiperro if they knew anything of their god, or ever had any communication with him, they replied that they often heard him whistle. The chiefs, too, are often called Atuas, or gods, even while they are alive§. The aged

* Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 59.
† Ibid., and New Zealand Grammar, p. 140.
‡ Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 396.
§ Journal of Mr. Marsden's Second Visit, p. 314.

chief, Terra, maintained to one of the missionaries that the god of thunder resided in his forehead; and Shungie and Okeda asserted that they were possessed by gods of the sea *.

The part of the heavens in which the gods reside is represented as beautiful in the extreme †. "When the clouds are beautifully chequered," writes Mr. Kendal, "the Atua above, it is supposed, is planting sweet potatoes. At the season when these are planted in the ground, the planters dress themselves in their best raiment, and say that, as Atuas on earth, they are imitating the Atua in heaven." The New Zealanders believe that the souls of the higher orders among them are immortal; but they hold that when the cookees die they perish for ever ‡. The spirit, they think, leaves the body the third day after death, till which time it hovers round the corpse, and hears very well whatever is said to it §. But they hold also, it would seem, that there is a separate immortality for each of the eyes of the dead person; the left, as before-mentioned, ascending to heaven and becoming a star, and the other, in the shape of a spirit, taking flight for the Réinga ||. Réinga signifies, properly, the place of flight; and is said, in some of the accounts, to be a rock or a mountain at the North Cape ¶, from which, according to others, the spirits descend into the next world through the sea **. The notion which the New Zea-

* Nineteenth Report of Church Missionary Society, p. 204.
† Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 61.
‡ Cruise's Journal, p. 282.
§ Proceedings of Church Missionary Society, vol. v. p. 557.
|| Id. p. 558.
¶ Id. Vide also Proceedings of Church Missionary Society for 1821-2, p. 364.
** Journal of Mr. Marsden's Third Visit, p. 444.

landers really entertain as to this matter appears to be, that the spirits first leap from the North Cape into the sea, and thence emerge into an Elysium situated in the Island of the Three Kings. The submarine path to the blissful region of the New Zealanders is less intricate than that of the Huron of America:—

> "To the country of the Dead,
> Long and painful is thy way!
> O'er rivers wide and deep
> Lies the road that must be past,
> By bridges narrow-wall'd,
> When scarce the soul can force its way,
> While the loose fabric totters under it*."

In the heaven of the New Zealanders, as in that of the ancient Goths, the chief employment of the blessed is war, their old delight while on earth †. The idea of any more tranquil happiness has no charms for them. Speaking of an assembly of them which he had been endeavouring to instruct in the doctrines of Christianity, one of the Wesleyan missionaries says, "On telling them about the two eternal states, as described in the Scriptures, an old chief began to protest against these things with all the vehemence imaginable, and said that he would not go to heaven, nor would he go to hell to have nothing but fire to eat; but he would go to the Raing or Po, to eat coomeras, (sweet potatoes) with his friends who had gone before ‡." The slaves that are sacrificed upon the death of a chief, by his friends, are generally intended to prevent him from coming again to destroy them §; but we find that on the occasion of

* Southey's Songs of the American Indians.

† Proceedings of Church Missionary Society, vol. v. p. 558; and Missionary Register for 1817, p. 349.

‡ Missionary Register for 1826, p. 164.

§ Journal of Mr. Marsden's Second Visit, p. 291.

a child having been drowned, the mother insisted upon a female slave being killed, to be a companion for it on its way to the Réinga *.

Though the New Zealanders do not assemble together at stated times to worship their gods, they are in the habit of praying to them in all their emergencies. Thus, when Korro-korro met his aunt, as before related, his brother Tooi informed Mr. Nicholas that the ejaculations the old woman uttered as she approached were prayers to the divinity. When Korro-korro urged Mr. Marsden to take his son with him to Port Jackson, and was told by that gentleman that he was afraid to do so lest the boy should die, as so many of his countrymen had done when removed from their native island, the chief replied, that he would pray for his son during his absence, as he had done for his brother Tooi when he was in England, and then he would not die. Tupee, too, another of the Bay of Islands chiefs, Mr. Marsden tells us, used to pray frequently. When that gentleman lay sick in his cot, on the voyage home from his first visit to New Zealand, Tupee, who was with him, used to sit by his side, and, laying his hands on different parts of his body, addressed himself all the while with great devotion to his God, in intercession for his friend's recovery.

The priests, or Tohungas, as they are called, are persons of great importance and authority in New Zealand, being esteemed almost the keepers and rulers of the gods themselves. Many of the greatest of the chiefs and Areekees are also priests, as was, for example, Tupee, whom we have just mentioned. It is the priest who attends at the bedside of the dying chief, and regulates every part of the treatment of the patient †. When the body of a chief who has been

* Missionary Register for 1828, p. 615.

† Nicholas's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 181.

killed in battle is to be eaten, it is the priest who first gives the command for its being roasted. The first mouthfuls of the flesh, also, being regarded as the dues of the gods, are always eaten by the priest*. In the case of any public calamity, it is the priest whose aid is invoked to obtain relief from heaven. Mr. Marsden states, that on occasion of the caterpillars one year making great ravages among the crops of sweet potatoes at Rangheehoo, the people of that place sent to Cowa-Cowa for a great priest to avert the heavy judgment; and that he came and remained with them for several months, during which he employed himself busily in the performance of prayers and ceremonies. The New Zealanders also consider all their priests as a species of sorcerers, and believe they have the power to take the lives of whomsoever they choose by incantation †. Themorangha, one of the most enlightened of the chiefs, came one day to Mr. Marsden, in great agitation, to inform him that a brother chief had threatened to employ a priest to destroy him in this manner, for not having sold to sufficient advantage an article which he had given him to dispose of. "I endeavoured," says Mr. Marsden, "to convince him of the absurdity of such a threat; but to no purpose: he still persisted that he should die, and that the priest possessed that power; and began to draw the lines of incantation on the ship's deck, in order to convince me how the operation was performed. He said that the messenger was waiting alongside, in a canoe, for his answer. Finding it of no use to argue with him, I gave him an axe, which he joyfully received, and delivered to the mes-

* Mr. Marsden's Journal of Second Visit, p. 306.
† Id. p. 307.

senger, with a request that the chief would be satisfied, and not proceed against him*." Themorangha seems to have been particularly selected by these priests as a subject for their roguish practices, perhaps by way of revenge for the freedom with which he occasionally expressed himself in regard to their pretensions, when his fears were not excited. A short time before this, one of them had terrified him not a little, by telling him that he had seen his ghost during the night, and had been informed, by the Atua, that if he went to a certain place to which he was then about to proceed, he would die in a few days†. He soon, however, got so far the better of his fears as, notwithstanding this alarming intimation, to venture to accompany Mr. Marsden to the forbidden district; and he expressed his feelings of contempt for the sacred order in no measured terms, when he found that at the expiration of the predicted period he was still alive. He said that there were too many priests at New Zealand, and that they tabooed and prayed the people to death ‡. Others, as well as the priests, however, are supposed sometimes to have the power of witchcraft. Two of the missionaries, when one day about to land at a place a short distance from the settlement, were alarmed by nearly running the boat's head on three human bodies, which lay close together by the water's edge among some rushes; and upon inquiry they were informed that they were the bodies of three slaves who had been killed that morning for *makoo-*

* Journal of Third Visit, p. 441.

† Id., p. 433. This will remind the reader of the Celtic superstition, according to which the gifted seer is supposed frequently to see the doomed man's *wraith*, or spirit, a few days before it has for ever parted with the body.

‡ Id. p. 443.

tooing a chief, *i. e.* bewitching or praying evil prayers against him, which had caused his death*. A common method which the priests use of bewitching those whom they mean to destroy, is to curse them, which is universally believed to have a fatal effect. The curse seems usually to be uttered in the shape of a yell or song, so that the process is literally a species of incantation. Bishop Newton, in his commentary on the scriptural account of Balaam being sent for to curse the Israelites, says, "it was a superstitious ceremony in use among the heathens, to devote their enemies to destruction at the beginning of their wars; as if the gods would enter into their passions, and were as unjust and partial as themselves."

The demeanour of most of the New Zealand priests is something so entirely different from that observed by the ministers of religion in civilized countries, that it is not surprising Rutherford should have failed to recognise them as belonging to that order. Thus, we read of a priest who speaks of having killed, not by enchantment, but in the usual way, with his own hands, both a woman who had gone on board a ship contrary to his orders, and a man who had stolen some potatoes†. Another is mentioned as having one day introduced himself into the house of Mr. Williams, one of the missionaries, by springing over the fence, and then, when his rude conduct was reproved, stripping himself to fight with that gentleman. The same personage, who bore the venerable name of Towee Taboo, or Holy Towee, a short time after attempted to break Mr. Williams's door to pieces with a long pole; and when he could not accomplish that object, effected his

* Missionary Register for 1826, p. 613.
† Missionary Register for 1823, p. 197.

entrance by leaping over the fence as before. What he now wanted, he said, was *hootoo*, or payment, for a hurt which he had given his foot in performing this exploit on the former occasion. When this strange demand was refused, he attempted to set the house on fire; and, having collected a mob of his friends, would certainly have done so, had not another party of the natives come to the assistance of Mr. Williams and his family*.

But one of the most remarkable among this order of men seems to be Tamanhena, the priest of the Head of the Shukehanga, who is believed to have absolute command over the winds and waves. Mr. Marsden met with this dignitary on his second visit to New Zealand; and found that, in addition to being a priest, he was in the habit of acting as a pilot—a profession with which the other suited very well, as by virtue of his sacred character he had the power of keeping the winds and waves quiet whenever he chose to put to sea. Accordingly, Mr. Marsden went out with him in a canoe to examine the entrance of the river; Tamanhena assuring him, though it blew very fresh, that he would soon make both the wind and the waves fall. "We were no sooner in the canoe," continues Mr. Marsden, "than the priest began to exert all his powers to still the gods, the winds, and the waves. He spake in an angry and commanding tone. However, I did not perceive either the winds or waves yield to his authority; and when we reached the Head, I requested to go on shore." Tamanhena wished very much to learn to pray like the Europeans, and said he should willingly give a farm to any missionary who would come to reside near him. He also promised

* Missionary Register for 1826, pp. 614—616.

that he would let Mr. Marsden hear his god speak to him; but when they got to the place where the conference was to be held, he discovered that the god was not there. Mr. Marsden, however, found him remarkably well informed on all subjects relating to his country and religion, and thought him, upon the whole, a very sensible man, making allowance for his theological opinions.

Captain Cruise has, however, detailed some particulars of this venerable personage, whom he also met with a few months after Mr. Marsden had seen him, which grievously detract from his character for sanctity. He made the voyage with them in the Dromedary from the Bay of Islands to the mouth of the Shukehanga, but announced his intention of leaving them the day after their arrival. "During his stay in the ship," says Captain Cruise, "there certainly was nothing of a very sacred character about him; he was by far the wildest of his companions; and, unfortunately, on the morning fixed for his departure, a soldier having missed his jacket, there was so great a suspicion of the pilot's honesty, that the sentinel at the gangway took the liberty of lifting up his mat, as he prepared to go down the side, and discovered the stolen property under it. The jacket was of course taken from him; and as the only excuse he had to offer for his misconduct was, that he had lost a shirt that had been given to him, and that he considered himself authorised to get remuneration in any way he could, he was dismissed without those presents which were given to the others. We were glad to see that his countrymen seemed to notice his conduct in the strongest terms of disapprobation; and the next day, when they were about to leave us, they seemed so determined to put him to death that they were requested not to do so, but to consider his having lost his pre-

sents, and his being forbidden ever to come near the ship, a sufficient punishment for his offence."

It is very remarkable, that, whenever a child is born in New Zealand, it is the invariable practice to take it to the *tohunga*, or priest, who sprinkles it on the face with water, from a leaf which he holds in his hand. It is believed that the neglect of this ceremony would be attended with the most baneful consequences to the child*.

Much reverence is felt among the New Zealanders for dreams; and it is believed that the favoured of heaven often receive in this way the communications of the gods. We need hardly remark how universal this superstition has been. The reader of Homer will recollect the

και γαρ τ' ὀναρ ἐκ Διος ἐστιν †

of that poet, and the ουλος ονειρος, or evil dream, which, in the second book of the Iliad, Jupiter sends down to Agamemnon, to lure him to give battle to the Trojans in the absence of Achilles. We must refer to Lafitau's learned work on the savages of America for an account of the notions which prevail among them as to divination by dreams‡. Captain Dillon tells us that he found no way so effectual of repressing the importunities of his New Zealand friends, in any case in which it was inconvenient to gratify them, as assuring them he had dreamed that the favour they requested would turn out a misfortune to them. When some of them, for example, entreated that he would take them with him to India, he told them he had dreamed that if they went to that country they would die there; and this at once put an end to their solicitations.

* Nicholas's Voyage, vol. i. p. 61.

† "For dreams descend from Jove."—Pope.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 74.

The following is a representation of a New Zealand priest, taken from Portlock's Voyages.

We are not, however, of opinion that the priestly office is distinguished by any particular costume, but consider that the portrait here given may, as far as regards the dress, be a resemblance only of an individual.

Chapter XI.

Rutherford's Journey to Kipara.—Process employed to procure Fire.—Method of Fighting.—Rejoicings for Victory.—Proceedings at a War Council.—Warlike Instruments.—Increasing use of Fire-arms.—Fortifications, or Hippahs.—Canoes.

For some time after his return from Cook's Straits, Rutherford's life appears to have been unvaried by any incident of moment. "At length," says he, "one day a messenger arrived from a neighbouring village, with the news that all the chiefs for miles round were about to set out, in three days, for a place called Kipara, near the source of the river Thames, and distant about two hundred miles from our village. The messenger brought also a request from the other chiefs to Aimy to join them, along with his warriors; and he replied that he would meet them at Kipara at the time appointed. We understood that we were to be opposed at Kipara by a number of chiefs from the Bay of Islands and the river Thames, according to an appointment which had been made with the chiefs in our neighbourhood. Accordingly, everything was got ready for our journey as quickly as possible; and the women were immediately set to work to make a great number of new baskets, in which to carry our provisions. It is the custom for every person going on such an expedition to find his own arms and ammunition, as also provisions, and slaves to carry them. On the other hand, every family plunder for themselves, and give only what they think proper to the chief. The slaves are not required to fight, though they often run to the assistance of their masters while engaged.

"When the day was come for our departure, I started along with the rest, being armed with my mery, a brace of pistols, and a double-barrelled fowling-piece, and having also with me some powder and ball, and a great quantity of duck-shot, which I took for the purpose of killing game on our journey. I was accompanied by my wife Epecka, who carried three new mats to be a bed for us, which had been made by Eshou during my absence at Taranake. The warriors and slaves, whom we took with us, amounted in all to about five hundred; but the slaves, as they got rid of the provisions they carried, were sent home again, as we had no farther use for them. While on our journey, if we came to a friendly village at night, we slept there; but if not, we encamped in the woods. When the provisions we had brought with us were all consumed, we were compelled to plunder wherever we could find anything. Our journey, being made during the rainy season, was more than usually fatiguing. We were five weeks in reaching Kipara, where we found about eleven hundred more natives encamped by the side of a river. On our arrival, huts were immediately constructed for our party, and one was allotted to me and my wife. We had also two female slaves allowed us for the purpose of digging fern-root, gathering cockles, and catching fish, which articles were our only provisions while we remained here; unless now and then when I went to the woods, and shot a few wood-pigeons or a wild pig."

A party of New Zealanders thus wandering through their country, with all the inconveniences attending the movement of large bodies of men, but without the combinations of foresight which are necessary for the safety of an army, or the management of supplies, must be occasionally exposed to great privations. Their island, however, it would seem from Ruther-

ford's narrative, abundantly supplied them with provisions, and their slaves were at hand to perform the office of cooks. Their method of procuring fire for culinary purposes and warmth is curious; and we may as well mention it somewhat fully here, before we proceed to the more busy parts of Rutherford's narrative.

When Mr. Nicholas was in New Zealand, he had an opportunity of seeing the process usually resorted to. "The place where we landed," says he, speaking of an excursion which he made with Mr. Marsden, and some of the chiefs, to a place a short distance from the Missionary Settlement, "was a small plantation of potatoes belonging to Shungie, and here our party intended to prepare their refreshments—seating themselves along the ground for the purpose. Fire, however, was wanting; and to procure it, Shungie took my fowling-piece, and, stopping up the touch-hole, he put a small piece of linen into the pan, and endeavoured to excite a spark. But this expedient proved unsuccessful, as the lock had got rusted and would not go off; he then got some dry grass and a piece of rotten wood, and turning a small stick rapidly between his hands, in the same manner as we mill chocolate, the friction caused the touchwood, in which the point of the stick was inserted, to take fire; while, wrapping it up in the dry grass, and shaking it backward and forward, he very soon produced a flame, which he communicated to some dry sticks, and other fuel that our party had collected." This was not, however, any sudden device of Shungie's, but merely the contrivance in general use in such emergencies among his countrymen. We have already mentioned two New Zealanders, who are at present in this country, and have recently been exhibiting the dances and other customs of their native land, in seve-

ral of our provincial towns. Among other things which they show, is this method of kindling fire; and we extract from the letter of a correspondent, who saw them at Birmingham, the following account of this part of their performance:—"A small board of well-dried pine was laid upon the floor, and the younger New Zealander took in his hand a wedge about nine inches long, and of the same material; then rubbing with this upon the board, in a direction parallel to the grain, he made a groove, about a quarter of an inch deep and six or seven inches long. The friction, of course, produced a quantity of what, had it been produced by another means, would have been called sawdust; and this he collected at the end of the groove farthest from that part of the board on which he was kneeling. He then continued his operation; and in a short time the wood began to smoke, the sides of the groove becoming completely charred. On this he stopped, and gathered the tinder over that part of the groove which appeared to be most strongly heated. After a few moments, it became manifest that the sawdust or tinder was ignited; and a gentle application of the breath now drew forth a flame which rose to the height of several inches. This experiment did not always succeed the first time; whenever it was repeated, whether after failure or success, the operator took a new wedge and formed a new groove, and it was stated that this was absolutely necessary. The process was evidently one of very great labour: at the conclusion of it, the operator was streaming with perspiration, and his elder countryman stated that his own strength was unequal to the feat."

This method of procuring fire has, in fact, been in use from the most ancient times, and in all parts of the world. It was, as Lafitau remarks, the very method which was prescribed for rekindling the

vestal fire at Rome, when it was accidentally extinguished*. This writer describes it as in use also among several tribes of the Indians of South America. Among them, however, it is somewhat more artificially managed than it appears to be among the New Zealanders—inasmuch as their practice is first to make a hole in the wood with the tooth of the acouti, and then to insert in this an instrument resembling a wimble, by the rapid revolution of which the wood is set on fire †. The Baron Alexander de Humboldt‡ gives a similar account of the manner in which the operation appears to have been performed among the ancient Mexicans, who adopted this method of rekindling their fires, on their general extinction at the end of every cycle of fifty-two years. We copy from his work one of the hieroglyphic paintings of this people, in which a priest is represented in the act of

* Vid. Festus, de Significatione Verborum, ad voc. *Ignis*.

† Lafitau, vol. iii. p. 220.

‡ Vues des Cordillères et Monumens des Peuples Indigènes de l'Amérique, pp. 99,100.

kindling the wood, which is supported upon the breast of a human victim. In a letter which Humboldt has printed at the conclusion of his work, from M. Visconti, it is remarked that we find mention made of this contrivance both in Homer's Hymn to Mercury, and in the Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius. The scholiast of the latter gives a description of the process, which exactly answers to the Mexican delineation *.

"On the opposite side of the river," Rutherford proceeds, "which was about half a mile wide, and not more than four feet deep in any part, about four hundred of the enemy were encamped, waiting for reinforcements. Meanwhile messengers were continually passing from the one party to the other, with messages concerning the war. One of them informed us that there was a white man in his party who had heard of and wished to see me; and that the chiefs, who also wished to see me, would give me permission to cross the river to meet him, and I should return unmolested whenever I thought proper. With Aimy's consent, therefore, I went across the river; but I was not permitted to go armed, nor yet to take my wife with me. When I arrived on the opposite side, several of the chiefs saluted me in the usual manner, by touching my nose with theirs; and I afterwards was seated in the midst of them by the side of the white man, who told me his name was John Mawman, that he was a native of Port Jackson, and that he had run away from the Tees sloop of war while she lay at this island. He had since joined the natives, and was now living with a chief named Rawmatty, whose daughter he had married, and whose residence was at a place called Sukyanna, on the west coast, within fifty miles of the Bay of

* Vues des Cordillères, &c., pp. 303, 304.

Islands. He said that he had been at the Bay of Islands a short time before, and had seen several of the English missionaries. He also said that he had heard that the natives had lately taken a vessel at a place called Wangalore, which they had plundered and then turned adrift; but that the crew had escaped in their boats, and put to sea *. This is the same place where the crew of the ship Boyd were murdered some years before.

" While I remained among these people, a slave was brought up before one of the chiefs, who immediately arose from the ground, and struck him with his mery and killed him. This mery was different from any of the rest, being made of steel. The heart was taken out of the slave as soon as he had fallen, and instantly devoured by the chief who slew him. I then inquired who this chief was, and was informed that his name was Shungie, one of the two chiefs who had been at England, and had been presented to many of the nobility there, from whom he received many valuable presents; among others, a

* The place which Rutherford here calls Wangalore, is that which is generally called Wangaroa, or Wangarooa. We have already related the particulars of the massacre of the Boyd's crew, which took place here in the end of the year 1809. The ship, of the destruction of which Rutherford's informant gave him the account which he has here recorded, was the Mercury, of London, South Sea whaler, which put in at Wangaroa on the 5th of March, 1825, and was plundered of the greater part of her cargo by the natives. She was also so much disabled by the attack made upon her, that, after a vain attempt to carry her round to the Bay of Islands, it was found necessary to abandon her, when she drove to sea, and was eventually completely wrecked near the North Cape. In this case it is asserted that no cause of offence whatever was given to the natives by the captain or crew of the Mercury; while the conduct of the former was in all respects treacherous, unfeeling, and provoking. See Letter from Mr. White, Wesleyan missionary, in Miss. Reg. for 1826, pp. 104-5.

double-barrelled gun and a suit of armour, which he has since worn in many battles. His reason, they told me, for killing the slave, who was one belonging to himself, was that he had stolen the suit of armour, and was running away with it to the enemy, when he was taken prisoner by a party stationed on the outskirts of the encampment. This was the only act of theft which I ever saw punished in New Zealand. Although Shungie has been two years among Europeans, I still consider him to be one of the most ferocious cannibals in his native country. He protects the missionaries who live on his ground entirely for the sake of what he can get from them.

"I now returned to my own party. Early the next morning the enemy retreated to the distance of about two miles from the river; upon observing which our party immediately threw off their mats, and got under arms. The two parties had altogether about two thousand muskets among them, chiefly purchased from the English and American South Sea ships which touch at the island. We now crossed the river; and, having arrived on the opposite side, I took my station on a rising ground, about a quarter of a mile distant from where our party halted, so that I had a full view of the engagement. I was not myself required to fight, but I loaded my double-barrelled gun, and, thus armed, remained at my post, my wife and the two slave girls having seated themselves at my feet. The commander-in-chief of each party now stepped forward a few yards, and, placing himself in front of his troops, commenced the war-song. When this was ended both parties danced a war-dance, singing at the same time as loud as they could, and brandishing their weapons in the air. Having finished their dance, each party formed into a line two-deep, the

women and boys stationing themselves about ten yards to the rear. The two bodies then advanced to within about a hundred yards of each other, when they fired off their muskets. Few of them put the musket to the shoulder while firing it, but merely held it at the charge. They only fired once; and then, throwing their muskets behind them, where they were picked up by the women and boys, drew their merys and tomahawks out of their belts, when, the war-song being screamed by the whole of them together in a manner most dismal to be heard, the two parties rushed into close combat. They now took hold of the hair of each other's heads with their left hands, using the right to cut off the head. Meantime the women and boys followed close behind them, uttering the most shocking cries I ever heard. These last received the heads of the slain from those engaged in the battle as soon as they were cut off, after which the men went in among the enemy for the dead bodies; but many of them received bodies that did not belong to the heads they had cut off. The engagement had not lasted many minutes, when the enemy began to retreat, and were pursued by our party through the woods. Some of them, in their flight, crossed the hill on which I stood; and one threw a short jagged spear at me as he passed, which stuck in the inside of my left thigh. It was afterwards cut out by two women with an oyster-shell. The operation left a wound as large as a common-sized tea-cup; and after it had been performed I was carried across the river on a woman's back to my hut, where my wife applied some green herbs to the wound, which immediately stopped the bleeding, and also made the pain much less severe.

"In a short time our party returned victorious, bringing along with them many prisoners. Persons

taken in battle, whether chiefs or not, become slaves to those who take them. One of our chiefs had been shot by Shungie, and the body was brought back, and laid upon some mats before the huts. Twenty heads, also, were placed upon long spears, which were stuck up around our huts; and nearly twice as many bodies were put to the fires, to be cooked in the accustomed way. Our party continued dancing and singing all night; and the next morning they had a grand feast on the dead bodies and fern-roots, in honour of the victory they had gained. The name of the chief, whose body lay in front of our huts, was Ewanna. He was one of those who were at the taking of our vessel. His body was now cut into several pieces, which, being packed into baskets, covered with black mats, were put into one of the canoes, to be taken along with us down the river. There were, besides Ewanna, five other chiefs killed on our side, whose names were, Nainy, Ewarree, Tometooi, Ewarrehum, and Erow. On the other side, three chiefs were killed, namely, Charly, Shungie's eldest son, and two sons of Mootyi, a great chief of Sukyanna. Their heads were brought home by our people as trophies of war, and cured in the usual manner.

"We now left Kipara in a number of canoes, and proceeded down the river to a place called Shaurakke, where the mother of one of the chiefs who was killed, resided. When we arrived in sight of this place, the canoes all closed together, and joined in singing a funeral song. By this time, several of the hills before us were crowded with women and children, who, having their faces painted with ochre, and their heads adorned with white feathers, were waving their mats, and calling out to us *ara mi, ara mi,* the usual welcome home. When the funeral

song was ended, we disembarked from our canoes, which we hauled up from the river, and our party then performed a dance, entirely naked; after which they were met by another party of warriors, from behind the hill, with whom they engaged in a sham fight, which lasted about twenty minutes. Both parties then seated themselves around the house belonging to the chief of the village, in front of which the baskets containing the dead body were at the same time placed. They were then all opened, and the head, being taken out and decorated with feathers, was placed on the top of one of the baskets; while the rest of the heads that had been taken at the battle were stuck on long spears, in various parts of the village. Meanwhile, the mother of the slain chief stood on the roof of the house, dressed in a feathered cloak and turban, continually turning herself round, wringing her hands, and crying for the loss of her son.

"The dead body having been in a few days buried with the usual ceremonies, we all prepared to return to our own village. Shaurakke is one of the most delightful spots in New Zealand, and has more cultivated land about it than I saw anywhere else. While I was here, I saw a slave-woman eat part of her own child, which had been killed by the chief, her master. I have known several instances of New Zealand women eating their children as soon as they were born."

This is, we believe, the most complete account, and, at the same time, the one most to be depended on, which has yet been given to the public, of a New Zealand battle. None of the other persons who have described to us the manners of these savages have seen them engaged with each other, except in a sham fight; although Mr. Nicholas, on one occasion, was very near being afforded an opportunity of

witnessing a real combat. That gentleman and Mr. Marsden, however, have given us some very interesting details respecting the preliminaries to an actual engagement. They describe the debates which generally take place in the war-council of a tribe or district previous to any declaration of hostilities; and those conferences between the two opposing parties in which, even after they have met on the intended field of action, the matter of dispute is often made the subject of a war of argument and eloquence, and sometimes, it would seem, is even settled without any resort to more destructive weapons. When Mr. Marsden visited the neighbourhood of the Shukehanga, in 1819, he found a quarrel just about to commence between two of the principal chiefs, whose lands lay contiguous, and who were also, as it appeared, nearly related, in consequence of the pigs of the one having got into the sweet potato grounds of the other, who had retaliated by shooting several of them*. The chief whose pigs had committed the trespass, and whom Mr. Marsden was now visiting, was an old man, apparently eighty years of age, named Warremaddoo, who had now resigned the supreme authority to his son Matanghee; yet this affair rekindled all the ancient enthusiasm of the venerable warrior. The other chief was called Moodeewhy. The morning debate, at which several chiefs spoke with great force and dignity, had been suddenly interrupted; but it was resumed in the evening, when Mr. Marsden was again present. On this occasion, Old Warremaddoo threw off his mat, took his spear, and began to address his tribe and the

* The sweet potato was called *Batata;* and though the plants are of a different species, we derive our name *Potato* from the Batata.

chiefs. He made strong appeals to them against the injustice and ingratitude of Moodeewhy's conduct towards them,—recited many injuries which he and his tribe had suffered from Moodeewhy for a long period,—mentioned instances of his bad conduct at the time that his father's bones were removed from the Ahoodu Pa to their family vault,—stated acts of kindness which he had shown to Moodeewhy at different times,—and said that he had twice saved his tribe from total ruin. In the present instance, Moodeewhy had killed three of his hogs. Every time he mentioned his loss, the recollection seemed to nerve afresh his aged sinews: he shook his hoary beard, stamped with indignant rage, and poised his quivering spear. He exhorted his tribe to be bold and courageous; and declared that he would head them in the morning against the enemy, and, rather than he would submit, he would be killed and eaten. All that they wanted was firmness and courage; he knew well the enemies they had to meet—their hearts did not lie deep; and, if they were resolutely opposed, they would yield. His oration continued nearly an hour, and all listened to him with great attention *. This dispute, however, partly through Mr. Marsden's intercession, who offered to give each of the indignant leaders an adze if they would make peace, was at last amicably adjusted; and the two, as the natives expressed it, "were made both alike inside." But Mr. Marsden was a good deal surprised on observing old Warremaddoo, immediately after he had rubbed noses with Moodeewhy in token of reconcilement, begin, with his slaves, to burn and destroy the fence of the enclosure in which they were assembled, belonging to Moodeewhy, who, however, took no notice

* Journal of Second Visit, p. 316.

of the destruction of his property thus going on before his face. Upon inquiry, he was told that this was done in satisfaction for a fence of the old man's which Moodeewhy had destroyed in the first instance, and the breaking down of which had, in fact, given rise to the trespass. A New Zealander would hold himself to be guilty of a breach of the first principles of honour, if he ever made up a quarrel without having exacted full compensation for what he might conceive to be his wrongs.

The battle which Mr. Nicholas expected to witness, was to be fought between the tribe of an old chief, named Henou, and that of another, named Wiveah, (already mentioned as being also one of the priesthood,) who had seduced his wife. The two parties met in adjoining enclosures, and Mr. Nicholas took his station on the roof of a neighbouring hut to observe their proceedings. The conference was commenced by an old warrior on Henou's side, who, rising, amid the universal silence of both camps, addressed himself to Wiveah and his followers. Mr. Nicholas describes the venerable orator as walking, or rather running, up and down a paling, which formed one side of the enclosure in which he was, uttering his words in a tone of violent resentment, and occasionally shaking his head and brandishing his spear. He was answered in a mild and conciliating manner by two of Wiveah's followers. To them another warrior of Henou's party replied, in what Mr. Nicholas calls a masterly style of native eloquence. In easy dignity of manner he greatly excelled the other orators. "He spoke," says the author, "for a considerable time; and I could not behold, without admiration, the graceful elegance of his deportment, and the appropriate accordance of his action. Holding his *pattoo pattoo* in his hand,

he walked up and down along the margin of the river with a firm and manly step."

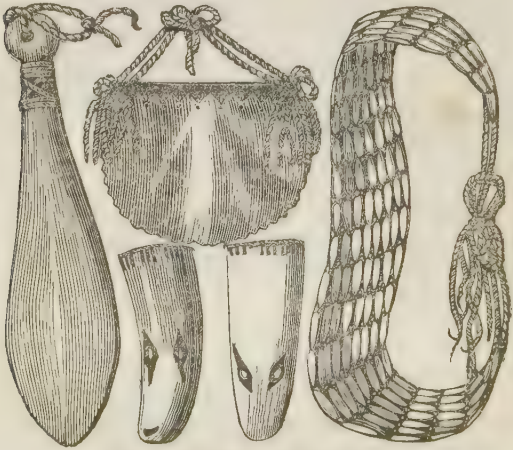
The debate was carried on by other speakers for some time longer; but at last it appeared that conciliatory counsels had carried the day. The two parties satisfied themselves with a sham fight, Wiveah merely presenting the injured Henou with a quantity of potatoes. The most singular part of the debate, however, was yet to come; for immediately after the sham fight, the old orator again rose, and, although vehement enough at the beginning of his harangue, became still more so as he proceeded, till at last he grew quite outrageous, and jumped about the field like a person out of his senses. In a latter part of the debate, Wiveah and Henou themselves took up the discussion of the question, and seem, by the account given, to have handled it with more mildness and good temper than almost any of their less interested associates. At the close of Wiveah's last address, however, "his three wives," says Mr. Nicholas, "now deemed it expedient to interpose their oratory, as confirming mediators between the parties, though there was no longer any enmity existing on either side. They spoke with great animation, and the warriors listened to their separate speeches in attentive silence. They assumed, I thought, a very determined tone, employing a great deal of impressive action, and looking towards the opposite chief with an asperity of countenance not warranted by the mild forbearance of his deportment. The expostulating harangues (as I should suppose they were) of these sturdy ladies completed the ceremonials of this singular conference; and the reconciliation being thus consummated, the parties now entertained no sentiments towards each other but those of reciprocal amity."

It would appear that the New Zealand women sometimes carry their martial propensities farther than they are stated to have done in the present case. Mr. Nicholas was once not a little surprised, while witnessing a sham fight, to observe Duaterra's wife, the Queen of Tippoonah, exerting herself, with most conspicuous courage, among the very thickest of the combatants. Her majesty was dressed in a red gown and petticoat, which she had received as a present from Mr. Marsden—that reverend gentleman having been obliged himself, in the first instance, to assist in decorating her with these novel articles of attire; and, holding in her hand a large horse-pistol, always selected the most formidable hero she could find as her antagonist. She was at last, however, fairly exhausted; and stood, at the conclusion of the exhibition, Mr. Nicholas tells us, panting for breath. "In this state," says he, "she was pleased to notice me with a distinguished mark of flattering condescension, by holding out her lips for me to kiss,—an honour I could have very well dispensed with, but which, at the same time, I could not decline, without offering a slight to a person of such elevated consequence." He saw, also, some other female warriors, who exposed themselves in the combat with great gallantry. Among them, Mr. Marsden tells us, was the widow of Tippahee—a woman apparently not much less than seventy years of age*. Cook also sometimes saw the women armed with spears †.

* Journal of First Visit, p. 470.

† See Second Voyage. Mr. Marsden, on his third visit, witnessed a sham fight, in which Shungie's daughters engaged with muskets loaded with powder. "The women," says he, "loaded and fired their muskets with much military spirit, and appeared to be very fond of the sport; and I could not doubt but

The principal native war-instrument of the New Zealanders is the short thick club which has been so often mentioned. This weapon they all constantly wear, either fastened in their girdle or held in the right hand and attached by a string to the wrist.



Club, Belt, and Breast Ornaments.

It is in shape somewhat like a battledore, varying from ten to eighteen inches in length (including a short handle), and generally about four or five broad, thick in the middle, but worked down to a very sharp edge on both sides. It is most commonly formed of

they would be equally active and brave in a real battle."—p. 392. Mr. Williams, the missionary, was on one occasion escorted by a military party, which was led by a daughter of one of the chiefs, a girl about fourteen, who carried a double-barrelled fowling-piece.—Missionary Register for 1828, p. 467.

a species of green talc, which appears to be found only in the southern island, and with regard to which the New Zealanders have many superstitious notions. Some of them are made of a darker-coloured stone, susceptible of a high polish; some of whalebone; and Mr. Nicholas mentions one, which he saw in the possession of Tippoui, brother of the celebrated George of Wangaroa, and himself one of the leaders of the attack on the Boyd, which, like that of Shungie, which Rutherford speaks of, was of iron, and also highly polished. It had been fabricated by the chief himself, with tools of the most imperfect description; and yet was, in Mr. Nicholas's opinion, as well-finished a piece of workmanship as could have been produced by any of our best mechanics. This instrument is employed in close combat, the head being generally the part aimed at; and one well-directed blow is quite enough to split the hardest skull. The name usually given to it, in the earlier accounts of New Zealand, is *Patoo-patoo*. Mr. Anderson, in his general remarks on the people of Queen Charlotte's Sound, says it is also called *Emeeta*. But its correct and distinctive name seems to be that by which Rutherford always designates it, the *Mery* or *Mairy*.

Patoo would seem to be rather a general name for any deadly or warlike weapon, the word signifying *to kill* or *strike*. In the reduplicated form, Patoo-patoo (pátu-pátu), it is explained in the New Zealand Vocabulary to mean, 'a club for extracting the roots of trees from the ground.' If the name Patoo be appropriated by the natives to any one of their instruments of war in particular, it would rather appear to be given to the battle-axe, a weapon made of a species of very hard wood, with a shaft generally about five feet in length, and pointed at the one ex-

tremity, to be used, if occasion should require, as a pike, while the other is formed into a semicircular blade, with a sharpened edge, for the purpose o cutting. It is this with which they cut off the heads of their enemies in battle. Mr. Savage tells us, that when he took his friend, Moyhanger, to a shop in the Strand to purchase some tools, he was particularly struck with a common bill-hook, upon which he cast his eyes, as appearing to be a most admirable instrument of slaughter; and we find, accordingly, that since they have had so much intercourse with Europeans some of the New Zealand warriors have substituted the English bill-hook for their native battle-axe. Mr. Nicholas mentions one with which Duaterra was accustomed to arm himself.

Patoos, Clubs, &c.

New Zealander, with Spear.

Their only missile weapons (except stones, which they merely throw from the hand) are short spears,

made of hard wood, or whalebone, and pointed at one extremity. These they are very dexterous, both in darting at a mark, and in receiving or turning aside with the blades of their battle-axes, which are the only shields they use, except the folds of their thick and flowing mats, which they raise on the left arm, and which are tough enough to impede the passage of a spear. They have other spears, however, varying from thirteen or fourteen to thirty feet in length, which they use as lances or bayonets. These, or rather the shorter sort, are also sometimes called by English writers Patoos, or Patoo-patoos. Lastly, they often carry an instrument somewhat like a serjeant's halbert, curiously carved, and adorned with bunches of parrot's feathers tied round the top of it. This they call a Hennee. It is the instrument which is borne by the chief Tetoro in the representation of him prefixed to Captain Cruise's book; and also by Tooi, in our wood-cut, copied from the Missionary Register.

The musket has now, however, in a great measure superseded these primitive weapons, although the New Zealanders are as yet far from being expert in the use of it. By Rutherford's account, as we have just seen, they only fire off their guns once, and throw them away as soon as they have got fairly engaged, much as some of our own Highland regiments are said formerly to have been in the habit of doing. Captain Cruise, in like manner, states that they use their firelocks very awkwardly, lose an immense deal of time in looking for a rest and taking aim, and, after all, seldom hit their object, unless close to it. Muskets, however, are by far more prized and coveted by the New Zealander than any of the other commodities to which his intercourse with the civilized world has given him access. The ships that touch at the country always

find it the readiest way of obtaining the supplies they want from the natives, to purchase them with arms or ammunition; and the missionaries, who have declined to traffic in these articles, have often scarcely been able to procure a single pig by the most tempting price they could offer in another shape. Although the arms which they have obtained in this way have generally been of the most trashy description, they have been sufficient to secure to the tribes that have been most plentifully provided with them, a decided superiority over the rest; and the consequence has been, that the people of the Bay of Islands, who have hitherto had most intercourse with European ships, have been of late years the terror of the whole country, and while they themselves have remained uninvaded, have repeatedly carried devastation into its remotest districts. More recently, however, the River Thames, and the coasts to the south of it, have also been a good deal resorted to by vessels navigating those seas; and a great many muskets have in consequence also found their way into the hands of the inhabitants of that part of the island. When Rutherford speaks of the two parties whom he saw engaged having had about two thousand stand of arms between them, it may be thought that his estimate is probably an exaggerated one; but it is completely borne out by other authorities. Thus, for example, Mr. Davis, one of the missionaries, writes, in 1827, "They have at this time *many thousand stand of arms* among them, both in the Bay and at the River Thames*."

The method of fighting which is described as being in use among the New Zealanders, in which, after the first onset, every man chooses his individual antagonist, and the field of battle presents merely the spectacle of a multitude of single com-

* Missionary Register for 1827, p. 624.

bats, is the same which has perhaps everywhere prevailed, not only in the primitive wars of men, but up to a period of considerable refinement in the history of the military art. The Greeks and Trojans, at the time of the siege of Troy, used both chariots and missiles; and yet it is evident from Homer, that their battles and skirmishes usually resolved themselves in a great measure into a number of duels between heroes who seem to have sometimes paused by mutual consent to hold parley together, without at all minding the course of the general fight. Exactly the same thing takes place in the battles of the American Indians, who are also possessed of bows and arrows*. The New Zealanders have no weapons of this description†,—and, until their intercourse with Europeans had put muskets into their hands, were without any arms whatever by which one body could, by its combined strength, have made an impression upon another from a distance. Even the long spears which they sometimes used could evidently have been employed with effect only when each was directed with a particular aim. When two parties engaged, therefore, they necessarily always came to close combat, and every man singled out his adversary;—a mode of fighting which was, besides, much more adapted to their tempers, and to the feelings of vehement animosity with which they came into the field, than any which would have kept them at a greater distance from each other. The details of such personal conflicts amongst more refined nations, always formed

* Lafitau, tom. iii. p. 228.

† Mr. Crawfurd, in his History of the Indian Archipelago, forgot this exception to the general habits of rude tribes, when he says, "Among the savages of all nations we find the use of the club, the sling, and the bow and arrow, the first and universal weapons of all mankind."—i. 222.

a principal ingredient in poetry and romance, from the times of Homer to those of Spenser. They are, indeed, always uninteresting and tiresome, although related with the highest descriptive power; and even in the splendid descriptions of Ariosto and Tasso there is something absolutely ludicrous in the minute representations of two champions in complete armour, hammering each other about with their maces like blacksmiths. Still the poets have clung to this love of individual prowess, wherever their subjects would admit of such descriptions; and, even to our own day, that habit which we derived from the times of chivalry, of describing personal bravery as the greatest of human virtues, is not altogether abandoned. The realities of modern warfare are, however, very unfavourable to such stimulating representations. The military discipline in use among the more cultivated nations of antiquity, for example the Persians, the Macedonians, the Grecian states, and above all, the Romans, undoubtedly did much to give to their armies the power of united masses, controllable by one will, and not liable to be broken down and rendered comparatively inefficient by the irregular movements of individuals. But it is the introduction of fire-arms, which has, most of all, contributed to change the original character of war, and the elements of the strength of armies. Where it is merely one field of artillery opposed to another, and the efficient value of every man on either side lies principally in the musket which he carries on his shoulder, individual strength and courage become alike of little account. The result depends, it may be almost said entirely, on the skill of the commander —not on the exertions of those over whom he exercises nearly as absolute an authority as a chess-player does over his pieces. If this new system has not diminished the destructiveness of war, it has, at

least, very much abated the rancorous feelings with which it was originally carried on. It has converted it from a contest of fierce and vindictive passions, into an exercise of science. We have still, doubtless, to lament that the game of blood occasions, whenever it is played, so terrible a waste of human life and happiness; but, even the displacement of that brute force, and those other merely animal impulses, by which it used to be mainly directed, and the substitution of regulating principles of a comparatively intellectual and unimpassioned nature, may be considered as indicating, even here, a triumph of civilization. It is impossible that the business of war can be so corrupting to those engaged in it, when it is chiefly a contest of skill, as when it is wholly a contest of passion. Nor is it calculated in the one form to occupy the imagination of a people, as it will do in the other. The evil is therefore mitigated by the introduction of those arts which to many may appear aggravations of this curse of mankind.

Rutherford does not take any notice of the Pas, or, as they have been called, Eppas, or Hippahs, which are found in so many of the New Zealand villages. These are forts, or strong-holds, always erected on an eminence, and intended for the protection of the tribe and its most valuable possessions, when reduced by their enemies to the last extremity. These ancient places of refuge have also been very much abandoned since the introduction of fire-arms; but formerly, they were regarded as of great importance. Cook describes one which he visited on the east coast, and which was placed on a high point of land projecting into the sea, as wholly inaccessible on the three sides on which it was enclosed by the water; while it was defended on the land side by a ditch of fourteen feet deep, having a bank raised behind it,

which added about eight feet more to the glacis. Both banks of the ditch are also, in general, surmounted by palisades, about ten or twelve feet high, formed of strong stakes bound together with withies, and driven very deep into the ground. Within the innermost palisade is usually a stage, supported by posts, from which the besieged throw down darts and stones upon their assailants; and in addition to this, the interior space, which is generally of considerable extent, is sometimes divided into numerous petty eminences, each surrounded by its palisade, and communicating with each other by narrow lanes, admitting of being easily stopped up, in case of the enemy having effected his entrance within the general enclosure. The only road to the strong-hold is

Hippah, or New Zealand Fort.

by a single narrow and steep passage. Captain Cruise describes a fort at Wangarooa, as situated on an insulated rock, about three hundred feet high, and presenting the most imposing appearance. These elevated palings were a subject of much speculation to those on board of Cook's vessel, when that navigator first approached the coast of New Zealand. Some, he tells us, supposed them to be inclosures for sheep and oxen, while others maintained they were parks of deer.

The New Zealanders may, in some degree, be considered as a warlike people upon the sea. We have no distinct account of any maritime engagements between one tribe and another carried on in their vessels of war; but as these belong to the state, if it may be so termed—that is, as the war canoes are the property of a particular community inhabiting a village or district, as distinguished from the fishing-boats of individuals,—it is probable that their hostile encounters may occasionally be carried on upon the element with which a nation of islanders are generally familiar. Rutherford has given a minute description of a war-canoe, which accords with the representation of such a large vessel in the plates to Cook's Voyages:

"Their canoes are made of the largest sized pine-trees, which generally run from 40 to 50 feet long, and are hollowed out, and lengthened about eight feet at each end, and raised about two feet on each side. They are built with a figure head; the stern-post extending about ten feet above the stern of the canoe, which is handsomely carved, as well as the figure-head, and the whole body of the canoe. The sides are ornamented with pearl shell, which is let into the carved work, and above that is a row of feathers. On both sides, fore and aft, they have seats in the inside, so that two men can sit abreast. They pull about fifty paddles on each side, and

many of them will carry two hundred people. When paddling, the chief stands up and cheers them with a song, to which they all join in chorus. These canoes roll heavy, and go at the rate of seven knots an hour. Their sails are made of straw mats in the shape of a lateen sail. They cook in their canoes, but always go on shore to eat. They are frequently known to go three or four hundred miles along the coast."

It would be difficult, within the limits which the size of our page allows for illustration, to give a complete representation of a war-canoe; but we subjoin figures of double canoes, of small dimensions, from models in the museum of the Church Missionary Society.

Double Canoes.

Chapter XII.

Escape of Rutherford.—Return to Europe.—Other European residents in New Zealand.—Attachments of the Natives to the customs of savage life.—Notice of Omai.

We have noticed all the adventures which Rutherford records to have befallen him during his residence in New Zealand, and have now only to relate the manner in which he at last effected his escape from the country, which we shall do in his own words. "A few days," says he, "after our return home from Showrackee, we were alarmed by observing smoke ascending in large quantities from several of the mountains, and by the natives running about the village in all directions, and singing out *Kipoke**, which signifies a ship on the coast. I was quite overjoyed to hear the news. Aimy and I, accompanied by several of the warriors, and followed by a number of slaves, loaded with mats and potatoes, and driving pigs before them for the purpose of trading with the ship, immediately set off for Tokamardo; and in two days we arrived at that place, the unfortunate scene of the capture of our ship and its crew on the 7th of March 1816. I now perceived the ship under sail, at about twenty miles distance from the land, off which the wind was blowing strong, which prevented her nearing. Meanwhile, as it was drawing towards night, we encamped, and sat down to supper. I observed that several of the natives still wore round

* *Kai púke* is given as the New Zealand term for a ship, in Professor Lee's Vocabulary.

their necks and wrists many of the trinkets which they had taken out of our ship As Aimy and I sat together at supper, a slave arrived with a new basket, which he placed before me, saying that it was a present from his master. I asked him what was in the basket, and he informed me that it was part of a slave girl's thigh, that had been killed three days before. It was cooked, he added, and was very nice. I then commanded him to open it, which he did, when it presented the appearance of a piece of pork which had been baked in the oven. I made a present of it to Aimy, who divided it among the chiefs.

" The chiefs now consulted together, and resolved that, if the ship came in, they would take her, and murder the crew. Next morning she was observed to be much nearer than she had been the night before; but the chiefs were still afraid she would not come in, and therefore agreed that I should be sent on board, on purpose to decoy her to the land, which I promised to do. I was then dressed in a feathered cloak, belt, and turban, and armed with a battle axe, the head of which was formed of a stone which resembled green glass, but was so hard as to turn the heaviest blow of the hardest steel. The handle was of hard black wood, handsomely carved and adorned with feathers. In this attire I went off in a canoe, accompanied by a son of one of the chiefs, and four slaves. When we came alongside of the vessel (which turned out to be an American brig, commanded by Captain Jackson, employed in trading among the islands in the South Sea, and then bound for the coast of California), I immediately went on board, and presented myself to the captain, who, as soon as he saw me, exclaimed, " Here is a white New Zealander." I told him that I was not a New Zealander, but an Englishman; upon which he invited me into his cabin, where I gave him an account of my errand and

of all my misfortunes. I informed him of the danger his ship would be exposed to if he put in at that part of the island; and therefore begged of him to stand off as quickly as possible, and take me along with him, as this was the only chance I had ever had of escaping. By this time the chief's son had begun stealing in the ship, on which the crew tied him up, and flogged him with the clue of one of their hammocks, and then sent him down into his canoe. They would have flogged the rest also had not I interceded for them, considering that there might be still some of my unfortunate shipmates living on shore, on whom they might avenge themselves. The captain now consented to take me along with him; and, the canoe having been set adrift, we stood off from the island. For the first sixteen months of my residence in New Zealand, I had counted the days by means of notches on a stick; but after that I had kept no reckoning. I now learned, however, that the day on which I was taken off the island, was the 9th of January 1826. I had, therefore, been a prisoner among these savages ten years, all but two months."

Captain Jackson now gave Rutherford such clothes as he stood in need of, in return for which the latter made him a present of his New Zealand dress and battle axe. The ship then proceeded to the Society Islands, and anchored on the 10th of February off Otaheite. Here Rutherford went into the service of the British consul, by whom he was employed in sawing wood. On the 26th of May he was married to a chief woman, whose name, he says, was Nowyrooa, by Mr. Pritchard, one of the English missionaries. While he resided here, he was also employed as an interpreter by Captain Peachy, of the Blossom sloop of war, then engaged in surveying those islands. Still, however, longing very much to see his native country, he embarked on the 6th of January, 1827,

on board the brig Macquarie, commanded by Captain Hunter, and bound for Port Jackson. On taking leave of his wife and friends, he made them a promise to return to the island in two years, "which," says he, "I intend to keep, if it is in my power, and end my days there." The Macquarie reached Port Jackson on the 19th of February; and Rutherford states that he met here a young woman who had been saved from the massacre of those on board the Boyd, and who gave him an account of that event. This was probably the daughter of the woman whom Mr. Berry brought to Lima. He also found at Port Jackson two vessels on their way back to England, with a body of persons who had attempted to form a settlement in New Zealand, but who had been compelled to abandon their design, as he understood, by the treacherous behaviour of the natives. He now embarked on board the Sydney packet, commanded by Captain Tailor, which proceeded first for Hobart's Town, in Van Diemen's Land, and after lying there for about a fortnight set sail again for Rio de Janeiro. On his arrival here he went into the service of a Mr. Harris, a Dutch gentleman. Mr. Harris, on learning his history, had him presented to the Emperor Don Pedro, who asked him many questions by an interpreter, and made him a present of eighty dollars. He also offered him employment in his navy; but this Rutherford refused, preferring to return to England in the Blanche frigate, then on the point of sailing, in which he obtained a passage by an application to the British consul. On the arrival of the ship at Spithead, he immediately left her, and proceeded to Manchester, his native town, which he had not seen since he first went to sea in the year 1806.

After his return to England Rutherford occa-

sionally maintained himself by accompanying a travelling caravan of wonders, shewing his tattooing, and telling something of his extraordinary adventures. The publisher of this volume had many conversations with him in January, 1829, when he was exhibited in London. He was evidently a person of considerable quickness, and great powers of observation. He went over every part of his journal, which was read to him, with considerable care, explaining any difficulties, and communicating several points of information, of which we have availed ourselves in the course of this narrative. His manners were mild and courteous; he was fond of children, to whom he appeared happy to explain the causes of his singular appearance; and he was evidently a man of very sober habits. He was pleased with the idea of his adventures being published; and was delighted to have his portrait painted, though he suffered much inconvenience in sitting to the artist, with the upper part of his body uncovered, in a severe frost. Upon the whole he seemed to have acquired a great deal of the frankness and easy confidence of the people with whom he had been living, and was somewhat out of his element amidst the constrained intercourse and unvarying occupations of England. He greatly disliked being shown for money, which he submitted to, principally that he might acquire a sum, in addition to what he received for his manuscript, to return to Otaheite. We have not heard of him since that time; and the probability is that he has accomplished his wishes. He said that he should have no hesitation in going to New Zealand; that his old companions would readily believe that he had been carried away by force; that from his knowledge of their customs, he could be most advantageously employed in trading with them; and that, above all, if he were to take back a

blacksmith with him, and plenty of iron, he might acquire many of the most valuable productions of the country, particularly tortoiseshell, which he considered the best object for an English commercial adventure.

Rutherford is not the only native of a civilized country whose fate it has been to become resident for some time among the savages of New Zealand. Besides his shipmates, who were taken prisoners along with him, he himself, indeed, as we have seen, mentions two other individuals whom he met with while in the country, one of whom had been eight years there, and did not seem to have any wish to leave it. We have already given an account of George Bruce, who, having gone to New Zealand with Tippahee, married the daughter of that chief, and became one of the principal persons in the island. Mr. Savage gives a short notice of a European who was living in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands when he was there in 1805. This person, whose native country, or the circumstances that had induced him to take up his abode where he then was, Mr. Savage could not discover, shunned all intercourse with Europeans, and was wont to retire to the interior whenever a ship approached the coast. The natives, however, whose customs and manners he had adopted, spoke well of him; and Mr. Savage often saw a New Zealand woman who lived with him, and one of their children, which he represents as very far from exhibiting any superiority either in mind or person over its associates of unmixed breed. Its complexion was the same as that of the others, being distinguished from them only by its light flaxen hair. Mr. Marsden also, in a letter written in 1813 to the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, mentions a young man, a native of America, with

whom he had conversed in New South Wales, and who had lived for above a year with the New Zealanders. During all this time these savages, he said, had shewn him the greatest attention, and he would have been very glad to return to live among them if he could have found any other Europeans to go with him. Since the Bay of Islands has become so much the resort of shipping, many seamen have left their ships, and taken up their residence of their own accord among the natives. The Missionary Reports state that, about the close of the year 1824, there were perhaps twenty men who had thus found their way into the country, and were living on plunder; and that within the year not less, it was supposed, than a hundred sailors had in the same manner taken refuge for a time in the island. Although these men had all run away from their own ships, the captains of other vessels touching at any part of the coast did not hesitate to employ them when they wanted hands. Mawman, whom Rutherford met with at Kiperra, had, it will be recollected, made his escape, according to his own account, from a sloop of war. These fugitives, however, it would appear, do not always succeed in establishing themselves among the natives. Captain Cruise mentions one who, having run away from the Anne, whaler, hid himself at first in the woods, but soon after came on board the Dromedary in a most miserable state, beseeching to be taken on the strength of the ship. Convicts, too, occasionally make their escape to New Zealand, and attempt to secrete themselves in the interior of the country. When the Active was at the Bay of Islands in 1815, two men and a woman of this description were sent on board to be taken back to New South Wales. The woman, Mr. Nicholas says, was particularly dejected on being retaken; and it was found that

while on shore she had done every thing in her power to prevail upon one of the native females to assist her in her attempt to conceal herself. Her friend, however, resisted all her entreaties; and well knowing the hardships to which the poor creature would have exposed herself, only replied to her importunate solicitations, "Me would, Mary, but me got no tea, me got no sugar, no bed, no good things for you; me grieve to see you, you cannot live like New Zealand woman, you cannot sleep on the ground." The Rev. Mr Butler, in March, 1821, found two convicts who had escaped from a whaler, in the hands of one of the chiefs, who was just preparing to put them to death. On Mr. Butler interfering and begging that their lives might be spared, the New Zealanders replied, "They are nothing but slaves and thieves: they look like bad men, and are very ragged: they do not belong to you, and we think they are some of King George's bad cookees." After a great deal of discussion, however, they yielded so far to Mr. Butler's entreaties and arguments as to agree not to kill the two men; but the chief insisted that they should go home with him and work for him four months, after which he said that he would give them up to any ship that would take them to "King George's farm at Port Jackson."

When Mr. Nicholas was in New Zealand in 1815, he met with a Hindoo, who had made his escape from Captain Patterson's ship, the City of Edinburgh, about five years before, and had been living among the natives ever since. Compared with the New Zealanders, he looked, Mr. Nicholas says, like a pigmy among giants. However, he had got so much attached to the manners of his new associates that he declared he would much rather remain where he was than return to his own country. He

had married a native woman, and was treated, he said, in the kindest manner by the New Zealanders, who always supplied him with plenty of food without compelling him to do more work than he chose. Mr. Nicholas offered him some rice, but he intimated that he decidedly preferred fern-root.

The circumstances of Rutherford's capture and detention in New Zealand were but indifferently calculated to reconcile him to the new state of society in which he was there compelled to mix, notwithstanding the rank to which his superior intelligence and activity raised him. Though a chief, he was still a prisoner; and even all the favour with which he had himself been treated could not make him forget the fate of his companions, or the warning which it afforded him to how sudden or slight an accident his own life might at any time fall a sacrifice. But it is certain that, where no such sense of constraint is felt, not only the notion, but even the reality, of savage life has a strong charm for many minds. The insecurity and privation which attend upon it are deemed but a slight counterbalance to the independence, the exemption from regular labour, and above all the variety of adventure, which it promises to ardent and reckless spirits. Generally, however, the Europeans that have adopted the life of the savage have been men driven out from civilization, or disinclined to systematic industry. They have not chosen the imaginary freedom and security of barbarians, in contempt of the artificial restraints and legal oppressions of a refined state of society, in the way that the Greek did, whom Priscus found in the camp of Attila, declaring that he lived more happily amongst the wild Scythians than ever he did under the Roman government*.

But if those who have been accustomed to the

* See Gibbon.

comforts of civilization have not unfrequently felt the influence of the seductions which a barbarous condition offers to an excited imagination, it may well be conceived that, to the man who has been born a savage, and nurtured in all the feelings and habits of that state of society, they must address themselves with still more irresistible effect. We have many examples, accordingly, of how difficult it is to extinguish, by any culture, either in an old or a young savage, his innate passion for the wild life of his fathers. We mentioned in a former chapter how indefatigably Tippahee's son, Matara, on his return from England, strove to regain an acquaintance with his native customs. Moyhanger, Mr. Savage's friend, might be quoted as another instance, in whom all the wonders and attractions of London would appear not to have excited a wish to see it again. Nor does any greater preference for civilized life seem to have been produced in other cases, by even a much longer experience of its accommodations. When Mr. Nicholas and Mr. Marsden visited New Zealand in 1815, they met at the North Cape, where they first put on shore, a native of Otaheite, who had been brought from his own country to Port Jackson when a boy of about eleven or twelve years old. Here he had lived for some years in the family of a Mr. M'Arthur, where he had been treated with great kindness, and brought up in all respects as an English boy would have been. Having been sent to school he soon learned not only to speak English with fluency, but to read and write it with very superior ability; and he shewed himself besides in every thing remarkably tractable and obedient. Yet nothing could wean him from his partiality to his original condition; and he at last quitted the house of his protector, and contrived to find his way to New Zealand. Here he settled

among a people even still more uncivilized than his own countrymen, and married the daughter of one of the chiefs, to whose territories he had succeeded when Mr. Nicholas met with him. Jem (that was the name by which he had been known at Port Jackson) was then a young man of about twenty-three years of age. Unlike his brother chiefs he was cleanly in his person; and his countenance not being tattooed, nor darker than that of a Spaniard, while his manners displayed a European polish, it was only his dress that betokened the savage. "His hair," says Mr. Nicholas, "which had been very carefully combed, was tied up in a knot upon the crown of his head, and adorned with a long white feather fancifully stuck in it; in his ears were large bunches of the down of the gannet, white as the driven snow, and flapping about his cheeks with every gale. Like the natives he wore the mat thrown over his shoulders; but the one he had on was bordered with a deep vandyke of different colours, and gaily bedizened with the feathers of parrots and other birds, reflecting at the same moment all the various shades in the rainbow. He carried a musket in his hand, and had a martial and imposing air about him, which was quite in character with the station he maintained." He brought his wife with him in a canoe to the ship; and having known Mr. Marsden well in New South Wales, was delighted to see that gentleman, and proved of considerable use to him in his intercourse with the other New Zealanders. Although not accustomed to speak English in his new country, Jem had by no means forgotten that language. He had been on three warlike expeditions to the East Cape in the course of the last five years; but had gone, he said, only because he could not help it, and had never assisted in devouring the prisoners. Captain Dillon met both Jem

and the Hindoo, when he was at the Bay of Islands in July, 1827. The former had his son with him, a boy about twelve years of age.

These, and many other examples which might be added*, exhibit the force of habit which governs the actions of all men, whether in a savage or civilized state. There are, of course, exceptions. Omai, whom we have already noticed, was one. When Captain Cook, whom he had so long accompanied, left him, during his last voyage, at Huaheine, with every provision for his comfort, he earnestly begged to return to England†. It was nothing that a grant of land was made to him at the interposition of his English friends,—that a house was built and a garden planted for his use. He wept bitter tears; for he was naturally afraid that his new riches would make him an object of hatred to his countrymen. He was much caressed in England; and he took back many valuable possessions and some knowledge. But he was originally one of the common people; and he soon saw, although he was not sensible of it at first, that without rank he could obtain no authority. He forgot this, when he was away from the people with whom he was to end his days; but he seemed to feel that he should be insecure when his protector, Cook, had left their shores. He divided his presents with the chiefs; and the great navigator threatened them with his vengeance if Omai was molested. The reluctance of this man to return to his original condition was principally derived from these considerations, which were to him of a strictly personal nature. The picture which a popular poet has drawn of the feelings of Omai is very beautiful, and in great part true as applied to him as an individual; but it is not true of the mass of savages. The

* See Millar on Ranks, p. 143.

† See Gentleman's Magazine for 1781.

habits amidst which they are born may be modified by an intercourse with civilized men, but they cannot be eradicated. The following is the poetical passage to which we alluded. Omai had, altogether, a more distinguished destiny than any other savage—he was cherished by Cook, painted by Reynolds, and apostrophised by Cowper:—

"The dream is past; and thou hast found again
Thy cocoas and bananas, palms and yams,
And homestall thatch'd with leaves. But hast thou found
Their former charms? And, having seen our state,
Our palaces, our ladies, and our pomp
Of equipage, our gardens, and our sports,
And heard our music, are thy simple friends,
Thy simple fare, and all thy plain delights,
As dear to thee as once? And have thy joys
Lost nothing by comparison with ours?
Rude as thou art (for we return'd thee rude
And ignorant, except of outward show)
I cannot think thee yet so dull of heart
And spiritless, as never to regret
Sweets tasted here, and left as soon as known.
Methinks I see thee straying on the beach,
And asking of the surge that bathes thy foot,
If ever it has wash'd our distant shore.
I see thee weep, and thine are honest tears,
A patriot's for his country: thou art sad
At thought of her forlorn and abject state,
From which no power of thine can raise her up."

Omai. Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Chapter XIII.

Impression produced on savages by an introduction to civilized life.—Shungie.—Visit of Shungie and Whycato to England.—Of Tooi and Teeterree.—Notice of George.

Montaigne, in his essay on Cannibals, has described some particulars of the feelings of three savages who were taken to Rouen to see the court of Charles IX. According to this lively observer, they were principally struck with wonder at the appearance of a weak youth, as the French king was, having authority over the powerful guards by whom he was surrounded; and at the contrast presented between the riches and splendour of one part of the people, and the poverty and wretchedness of another. The complicated frame of European society must doubtless fill a simple barbarian with astonishment; but even with regard to those matters which are easiest of explanation amongst a civilized nation, there are many circumstances calculated to excite unmingled surprise in those who have grown up under an entirely opposite condition of life. One of the most interesting relations of the feelings of a savage when first surrounded by the wonders of civilization, is that of the native of the Pellew Islands, with whose story every schoolboy is familiar under the name of Prince Lee Boo. The New Zealanders, in their visits to England, have exhibited similar impressions in a peculiarly lively and striking manner; and this

was a natural consequence of the general activity of their minds. It will be instructive, therefore, to collect some particulars (in addition to a few scattered notices already given) of the more remarkable visitors who have come hither from some motive of curiosity or interest: for, in truth, the impressions produced upon the minds of such men are in many cases striking lessons for ourselves; and altogether they have a tendency to counteract that indifference which we more or less acquire with regard to objects whose real importance is lessened in our view, if not wholly forgotten, in consequence of their familiarity. We shall also be enabled, incidentally, to bring out some additional illustrations of the general condition of the savage, by presenting a few portraits of those individuals of whose characters and conduct we have been enabled, by close inspection, to obtain something like an accurate knowledge.

There is no name that has been so frequently mentioned in all the more recent accounts of New Zealand, as that of Shongee, or Shungie, of whose precipitate and sanguinary justice Rutherford has recorded so striking an instance. Shungie was first introduced to civilized life in the year 1814, when he arrived at Port Jackson, which he had long been anxious to visit, in company with Duaterra, of whose early misfortunes we have already given some account, but who was by this time reinstated in his native country. Duaterra was the son of Shungie's sister; and the nephew's relation of his adventures, calamitous as in many respects they were, had nevertheless inspired the uncle with a like passion for travelling, and seeing the world. Shungie was at this time a man of between forty and fifty years of age; and, along with his brother Kangarooa (who appears to have been the elder of the two), ruled over a territory comprehending seventeen districts, and

stretching from the east to the west coast of New Zealand. The extent of his possessions, indeed, would have alone rendered him one of the most powerful chiefs in the country; but he was still more celebrated and dreaded, as one of the very greatest of its warriors. Yet was this man, although in battle ferocious and blood-thirsty as a beast of prey, at other times all equability and gentleness; and not more distinguished by the mildest manners and the kindliest affections, than by a natural taste and ingenuity in such arts as his rude condition of life had made him acquainted with. It was while on this visit to Port Jackson that he cut the wooden bust of himself, of which we have given an engraving. Mr. Nicholas saw, also, a gun in his possession, which he had stocked, that gentleman tells us, in a manner that would have done credit to the most expert workman. It will be recollected, that when Duaterra distributed the seed-wheat he had received from Port Jackson among the different chiefs of his acquaintance, Shungie was the only one of those to whom he gave it, who had patience and sagacity enough to wait for the ripening of the grain, before attempting to reap it. He returned to his native country in 1814, with Mr. Nicholas and Mr. Marsden; and became the most powerful and zealous supporter of the English settlers, who some years after purchased from him a large tract of land, on which they formed their principal establishment. Had it not been for his friendship, they would, probably, have found it impossible to remain in the island; for Duaterra had returned only a few months from his last visit to Port Jackson, provided with a considerable supply of agricultural stock and implements, as well as with no contemptible amount of knowledge in many of the arts of civilized life, when he was suddenly cut off by a fever. Unfavourable as had

been the circumstances of his intercourse with Europeans, this young man, the prime of whose life, as we have seen, had been spent in as hard a struggle for the attainment of knowledge as perhaps any person ever underwent, had nevertheless acquired the manners of a gentleman, and thrown off in his ordinary demeanour whatever could have betokened his savage origin. Tenderly attached as he was to his family, Duaterra had voluntarily separated himself from them for years, that he might return to them and his country more worthy of the respect and affection of both; but, after all he had endured, when he at last set foot once more on his native soil, it was only to find in it his grave. His last thoughts were given to those schemes of improvement for which the better part of his life had been spent in so severe a preparation; and while he was able to move his lips he spoke only of the new arts he was to introduce among his countrymen, the fields he had marked out for the plough, and the European village he had intended should rise in the midst of his harvests.

Shungie was particularly attached to Duaterra, and his grief was excessive on the sudden death of that young man; but both he and his brother Kangarooa immediately promised the missionaries that they would now be their protectors in lieu of the friend they had lost. War, however, had been too much the habit of Shungie's life for him to be weaned from the love of that fierce pastime, either by the exhortations of his pious friends or the new art of agriculture, to which he had begun to pay some attention; although he had promised Mr. Marsden that, now that he had been informed it was wrong to eat human flesh, he and his people would in future abstain from that practice. About four months after the death of Duaterra he experienced another loss, which he felt severely, in the death of his bro-

ther Kangarooa. On this occasion he was so overwhelmed with sorrow that he twice attempted to hang himself. The practice of suicide, we may remark, is common among the New Zealanders. When Duaterra died, his head wife Dahoo, to whom he was fondly attached, hanged herself; at which, we are told, none of her relatives appeared either shocked or surprised. Her mother, indeed, wept while she was composing her limbs; but even she applauded the resolution and tender affection which the act displayed. When Tooi first proposed going to England, his brother Korro-korro wished him to take his wife with him, and when it was objected to this proposal, that in the event of Tooi's death his wife would find herself in a very distressing situation from being so far separated from all her relations, Korro-korro merely replied that it would be a good thing, in that case, for her to hang herself, as her countrywomen were accustomed to do*.

In 1820 Shungie determined to visit England; and accordingly on the 2d of March of that year he embarked on board the New Zealander, Captain Monro, being accompanied by Mr. Kendal the missionary, and another chief named Whycato, a young man of about twenty-six years of age, who had married a sister of one of Duaterra's wives. They reached London on the 8th of August. The objects which Shungie and his friend professed to have in view in visiting England will be best understood from their own statement, as written down by Mr. Kendal from their dictation:—

"They wish to see King George, the multitude of his people, what they are doing, and the goodness

* See Journal of Mr. Marsden's First Visit, p. 522; Proceedings of Church Miss. Soc., vol. v. p. 557; and Miss. Reg. for 1817, p. 348.

of the land. Their desire is, to stay in England one month, and then to return. They wish for at least one hundred people to go with them. They are in want of a party to dig the ground in search of iron, an additional number of blacksmiths, an additional number of carpenters, and an additional number of preachers, who will try to speak in the New Zealand tongue, in order that they may understand them. They wish also twenty soldiers, to protect their own countrymen, the settlers; and three officers, to keep the soldiers in order. The settlers are to take cattle over with them. There is plenty of spare land at New Zealand, which will be readily granted to the settlers. These are the words of Shungie and Whycato*."

The two chiefs remained in England for about four months, during which time they excited a good deal of public attention. They were sent, in the first instance, in company with Mr. Kendal, to Cambridge, in order to be near Professor Lee; and it was principally from the materials furnished to him on this occasion by Mr. Kendal, that the learned Professor compiled his Grammar of the New Zealand language. After residing for some time at Cambridge they returned to London; when, among the marks of attention which were shewn to them, his Majesty was pleased to admit them to an interview, and to shew them the armoury in the palace, as well as to make them some valuable presents. The climate, however, or a manner of living to which they were unaccustomed, soon began to produce alarming effects on their health; and for Shungie serious apprehensions were for some time entertained, his lungs being found to be greatly affected. He violently resisted the application of some of the remedies which

* Miss. Reg. for 1820, p. 327.

his medical attendants wished to employ, particularly a blister. The benefit, however, which he felt from this was so great, that he earnestly begged for a pot of the preparation to carry home. Both of them recovered so far as to be able to embark on the 15th of December in the convict ship Speke, Captain Macpherson, in which government granted them a passage to Port Jackson. When they arrived in the English colony in May, 1821, their health appears to have been perfectly restored; and having again set sail on the 4th of July, they reached the Bay of Islands on the 11th of the same month, after an absence of about a year and four months.

Shungie soon began to shew by his conduct, after his return home, what had been the real motives of his voyage to Europe. It appears that he had no sooner got to Port Jackson than he had disposed of many of the presents that had been made him in England for arms and ammunition; and, on his reappearance among his countrymen, such dependance did he place on the military stores he had brought with him, that his ambition seemed to point at nothing less than the subjugation of all his brother chiefs, and the elevating of himself to the sovereignty of the whole island. He now let the missionaries understand in plain terms that he was indifferent as to whether they remained in the country or left it. "I asked him," writes Mr. Butler, in 1821, "how he liked England. He immediately began to tell me of the innumerable quantity of muskets, and guns of all sorts, and soldiers, and ships, and people, belonging to King George. He also told me how he had been received by the king, and of the presents which his Majesty had made him; that King George had assured him that he had never written to say that the New Zealanders should not have muskets and powder.

He likewise informed me that he went to Cambridge, saw the colleges and many other things; and that he saw wild beasts, &c. The elephant is the only animal that seems to have struck him with any degree of surprise. He spoke with great disrespect of the missionary society and its officers. 'All the people at missionary house no good!' I told him that I was sorry for that, and wished to know how he made it out. He replied, They looked upon me as a poor man, and did not treat me as a great chief, and give me plenty of muskets and powder, axes, &c." A few days after they had another interview. "He first charged me," says Mr. Butler, "with doing all I could to hinder his going to England, which he considered a very bad thing: I told him that this statement was true, and that we all wished him not to go; but the reason was that we loved him and his family and people, and were afraid that the cold weather in England would kill him. He said that my words were all nonsense; and that we wished to hinder him from obtaining some fine guns; and charged me with writing a bad letter to the missionary house: I told him that I did not write at all. He then went on with a long story concerning the treatment of the society toward him, which he did not consider at all good. Whycato being present, I asked him what he had to say about this; he replied, 'The people at the missionary house, and the preaching, no good for New Zealand man.' Shungie then went on with a statement of their treatment at Port Jackson, saying that they were angry with Mr. Marsden, because he did not use them well: he added, that he told Mr. Marsden, that, as soon as he got down to New Zealand, he would send me away: I replied that if this was on account of muskets and powder, I was willing to go, as I would not sell or give away either the one or the other any more: he said that if I would not

sell them muskets and powder, it would be good for me to go away. I then said, 'If I go, I hope you and your people will let me take away my property.' No answer." He now also, instead of sending his children to school as he had promised to do, declared that he wanted them to learn to fight, not to read.

Shungie, though a rude and unskilful chief of a barbarous people, was as much possessed with the desire of being a conqueror as if he had lived in the early times of European civilization, when such a passion was considered amongst the most glorious of human attributes. He saw nothing of real interest to him in England but our military stores and our soldiers. He asked for men—and he succeeded in obtaining muskets and ammunition. When he returned to New Zealand all his fiercer passions became developed; for he saw that he possessed a new power by which he could subdue his rude countrymen, as Europeans have subdued many other barbarous tribes. He had the same ambition in his breast, with the same materials to work upon, as the Tartar chiefs who gradually obtained supremacy over their own class, and then carried desolation all over a vast continent. The accounts of Shungie, subsequent to his departure from England, present a constant narrative of his expeditions, sometimes against one part of the island and sometimes against another. Even before quitting this country he appears to have had enemies on all sides of him. Among those against whom we find him at different times making war, are the people of the North Cape, those of Wangaroa, his neighbour Korro-korro and his allies, some of the tribes on the banks of the Shukehanga, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the river Thames, those of the East Cape, &c. Kiperro, where Rutherford saw him, appears to have been frequently appointed as the place

of meeting for the adverse bands from the north and south. About the close of the year 1821, his son-in-law Tettee, described by the missionaries as "the most civilized, best behaved, and most ingenious and industrious man" they had met with among the New Zealanders, fell in fight in the district of the river Thames. Tettee's brother, Apoo, a fine young man, was also slain at the same time; and his wife hung herself on hearing the news. The following season Shungie set out with a great armament to revenge the deaths of those two chiefs, and some time after returned home in high spirits from his expedition, in the course of which he stated that he had killed at one place fifteen hundred of his enemies. One of the Bay of Islands chiefs is said, on this occasion, to have so completely glutted himself with human flesh, that he never was well afterwards, and died a few days after his return home. We find him away on another expedition to the East Cape, in February 1823, on which he appears to have been absent several months. In the course of this expedition, we are told, great numbers were slain on both sides; and mention is made of a helmet worn by Shungie, which, on one occasion, preserved him from a blow that would otherwise have proved fatal. Whycato, who was with Shungie at this time, afterwards told Mr. Marsden, that the scenes of cannibalism which he had witnessed after one of the battles were so horrid, and had shocked him so much, that he could not eat anything for four days. Whycato after this gave up going to war, and devoted himself to the cultivation of his farm.

The battle which Rutherford describes to have been fought at Kiperro, took place in 1826. The ambitious chief was subsequently overwhelmed with domestic calamities; and he rushed again to war for some alleviation. In the beginning of January 1827 he set out to attack his old enemies, the people of Wan-

garoa, being this time resolved to effect the complete conquest of that territory, and there to establish his future residence. His invasion of Wangaroa was the means of occasioning the destruction of the Wesleyan Mission, which had been for some time settled in that district; but it appears that this was not the act of Shungie. In his attack upon the Wangaroan forces, however, he was struck by a ball which broke his collar bone, and then passing in an oblique direction through the right breast, came out a little below the shoulder blade, close to the spine.

Although it was at first reported that Shungie was dead of this wound, he afterwards so far recovered from it, that by the month of August he was talking of another attack upon the Wangaroans, and soliciting some of the other chiefs to join him in it.* About this time he paid Captain Dillon a visit on board the Research, when, that gentleman says, the wind, greatly to his own amusement, was hissing through his wound as through the nose of a bellows. One of the missionaries writes in September, "Shungie is much recovered, and will probably resume his operations in the spring, if he can assemble a force; but there is no calculating on their movements; for those who are acting in alliance one month may the following be at war, and the third month acting in conjunction against a common foe." After lingering, however, for nearly fifteen months, this celebrated chief at last expired, on the 5th of March 1828. "His constant attention to Europeans," says Mr. Clarke, a missionary, "made him generally respected among them; nothing could ever provoke him to take the life of an European; although the treatment which he sometimes received on board the ships would have roused an Englishman possessing his influence to take signal vengeance. His general conduct towards us was kind; and his last moments

* Proceedings of Church Miss. Society for 1828, p. 118.

were employed in requesting his survivors to treat us well, and on no account to cause us to leave the island."

With all his savage love of strife and bloodshed, Shungie had many high qualities, which would have distinguished him from common men in whatever country he had been born. To his quick and vigorous intellectual powers, testimony is borne by all who have given us any account of him. Fertile in ingenious contrivances, whenever a sudden difficulty was to be coped with, he was sure to be the individual of the party who first suggested the method for surmounting it. Even his bravery, universal as that quality is in his country, seems to have been of a more generous complexion than we should be led to look for in the treacherous annals of New Zealand warfare. On one occasion, a short time before his visit to England, it is related that, in a battle in which he was about to engage, he ordered his men to fight only with spears and clubs, and not with muskets and ball, although he had plenty of both; nor did he begin to fire until two of his men had been killed by the shot of his opponents. With his station, and the endowments he inherited from nature, Shungie might have done more than any other man to civilize his country, had not his turbulent ambition made him its curse. The softer parts of the character of this warlike barbarian are not without interest. When his favourite son, for instance, embarked with Mr. Marsden for Port Jackson, he parted with him in the cabin without a tear; but "I afterwards," says Mr. Marsden, "heard him on deck giving vent to his feelings with the loudest bursts of weeping."

About the beginning of February 1818 the young chief Tooi, or Tui, who has already been frequently

mentioned, arrived in London, accompanied by his friend Teeterree. They had been allowed a free passage in His Majesty's brig Kangaroo from Port Jackson, where Tooi had resided about three years, and Teeterree about a year and a half, with Mr. Marsden. When Mr. Marsden and Mr. Nicholas visited New Zealand in 1814, Tooi accompanied them; and amused them on the passage by many remarks full of the sly humour for which his countrymen generally are remarkable. They had scarcely been a month in England when they began to shew symptoms of declining health; but as the summer advanced they recovered, upon which they were sent to Shropshire, in the hope that the air of the country would agree with them better than that of London. Here they remained for four months; and during this time they were taken to see the coal, iron, and china works, with which they were greatly surprised and delighted. Tooi, before leaving home, in addition to his martial accomplishments, was a tolerable proficient in the spinning of flax; and both he and Teeterree shewed great quickness in learning different processes of manual dexterity which they were shewn while in this country. When about to embark again for Port Jackson, which they did in the middle of December, they addressed farewell letters to several of their friends, which have been printed, and are very curious. These epistles they dictated to the gentleman in whose charge they were, who wrote what they said in a plain hand; and this they afterwards copied with so much exactness as to produce almost fac-similes of the original. Both deal lavishly enough in the phraseology of piety, but they seem to use it by way of display rather than from feeling; and it is easy to perceive that their thoughts were chiefly occupied about other matters. In his letter to the secretary of the Church Missionary

Society, Tooi, speaking of a visit he had made to a pottery, says, "I make four cups. Mr. Rose tell me, you soon learn. Yes, I say, very soon learn with fingers; but book very hard." A little afterwards, however, he adds, "I could not like to leave off my book now," apprehensive, it may be supposed, that he had before spoken of his literary occupations with somewhat scanty enthusiasm. But his principal anxiety seems to have been to secure comfortable accommodation for himself, and exemption from the necessity of working, during the voyage he had in prospect. "If you please," he writes, "Mr. Pratt, Sir, I could not like go mess with seamen that use bad language. . . . . I go aboard, and help work the ship when I please, and learn book a little." Teeterree, in his letter to the same gentleman, expresses himself in a similar strain. "I hope," says he, "Mr. Pratt got a ship ready when I come to London. I go aboard —a little work, and learn a little the book: no work always. . . . . If you please, Mr. Pratt, I no like to mess with swearing people on board the ship." It may be suspected that their dislike to swearing was not the only reason Tooi and his friend had for desiring to be promoted from the common mess. In a letter to Mr. Marsden, Tooi again complains of the difficulty he found in learning to read: "I learn the book a little, but it is very hard—go away next morning. . . . . I can say all Lord's prayer, and have begun the commandments. Tooi learn little hymn—very hard—I do anything with my finger —my head in morning go all away." In giving an account of the wonders he had seen during his visit, he says, "I have been up the country in Shropshire; see with mine own eye the iron run like water; my countryman no believe suppose I tell him. . . . . I see great elephant, and great many great beasts and guns at the Tower." He adds, however, "I like

up country very much—better than my own country. Tooi no like London—shove me about." Teeterree expresses the feelings which the view of the curiosities in the Tower excited with less reserve; "Mr. Hall took me see the Tower—see thousand thousand guns: *no give me one at all.* See lion, elephant, monkey, and cockatoo; the cockatoo he know me very well*."

These New Zealanders returned to Port Jackson in the convict ship the Baring. On the passage, symptoms of a relapse to old habits began to manifest themselves both in Tooi and Teeterree; and there was evidently too much reason to apprehend that, when they got back among their savage countrymen, neither would long remain much the better for his intercourse with the civilized world. And so it turned out. When Mr. Marsden embarked on board an American brig to make his second visit to New Zealand, in the end of July 1819, they accompanied him. A few months after this Captain Cruise met Tooi, who made his appearance one morning on board the Dromedary, dressed in a blue coat, trowsers, and boots, and wearing a cocked hat with a long white feather. Being very little tattooed, he looked, Captain Cruise says, not unlike a foreign officer; and as soon as he had come upon deck, he addressed those about him in English. At breakfast he conducted himself quite like a gentleman. His conversation, however, all the time was, it is added, "a continued boast of the atrocities he had committed during an excursion which he and Krokro had made two months before to the river Thames;" and he dwelt with marked pleasure upon an instance of his generalship, when, having forced a small party of his enemies into a narrow place, whence there was no egress, he was enabled successively to shoot two-

* Proceedings of Church Miss. Soc. for 1819, pp. 348—351.

and-twenty of them, without their having the power of making the slightest resistance. To qualify this story, he remarked, that, though all the dead bodies were devoured by the tribe, "neither he nor his brother ate human flesh, nor did they fight on Sundays." When asked why he did not try to turn the minds of his people to agriculture, he said it was impossible; "that if you told a New Zealander to work, he fell asleep; but if you spoke of fighting, he opened his eyes as wide as a teacup; that the whole bent of his mind was war, and that he looked upon fighting as fun*."

All the subsequent notices which we have of these chiefs are such as we might expect from what Captain Cruise relates. In April, 1821, it is stated that Teeterree had just returned to the Bay of Islands, from an expedition to the south-east, on which he had been absent for sixteen months, and had brought back with him many prisoners and heads. He and his brother warriors boasted on this occasion that they had destroyed whole villages; and that one or two more such desolating campaigns would entirely exterminate their enemies. In June, 1822, Tooi is mentioned as having just returned home from a war expedition, which had occupied him about two years; and in the course of which he had had many narrow escapes, and received many wounds. He told the missionaries some of his marvellous adventures—among others, that on one occasion he was so closely hemmed in that he had had nothing to eat or drink for twenty days, and his enemies had been so sure of taking him, that they had prepared the wood for a fire to roast him. War seemed to be his whole delight; and he stated that when the people to the eastward had been all destroyed, those to the northward should be attacked. When he sailed from Port Jackson for England, we

* Cruise's Journal, p. 39.

read of a wife whom he left behind him there with abundance of tears, and who is described as a very fine young woman. But he now appears with a retinue of five wives. Notwithstanding this, he joined the missionaries, it is stated, at their evening devotions, and repeated the Lord's Prayer very correctly. He proposed going to war again in about three months*.

In the latter part of the year 1823, Mr. Marsden, who was then making his fourth visit to New Zealand, learned that Tooi's elder brother, Korro-korro, had just died a natural death, and that Tooi was now chief of his tribe. The two brothers were on their return from war when Korro-korro died; but Mr. Marsden was informed that Tooi was now become so tired of this kind of life, that rather than continue it he was determined to leave New Zealand. If such was really his intention, he was allowed but a short time to practise the reformation he had resolved upon. As soon as his brother died he appears to have been attacked by his enemies from all sides; and he was at last reduced to such extremity, that he was left without anything to support him except fern-root and water. In this destitute state he was humanely taken on board the Mary, then lying in the Bay, by Captain Lock, that he might have medical assistance and proper food. But it was too late; he died on board, on the 17th of October, 1824. One slave had been already killed by his tribe to avert his death; and four more were now sacrificed to appease his manes.

The gentlemanly appearance and manners of Tooi seem to have struck all who speak of him. When he appeared in an English dress he is described as bearing few marks of the savage; and with all his barbarous propensities he had evidently some natural

* Missionary Register for 1823, p. 507.

refinement which distinguished him from the generality of his countrymen. The faculty of imitation which the South-Sea Islanders possess doubtless contributes largely to their speedy acquirement of the best manners. Dr. Johnson in this way accounted for the propriety and even elegance of the demeanour of Omai. "Sir, he had passed his time, while in England, only in the best company; so that all he had acquired of our manners was genteel. As a proof of this, Lord Mulgrave and he dined one day at Streatham; they sat with their backs to the light, fronting me, so that I could not see distinctly; and there was so little of the savage in Omai, that I was afraid to speak to either, lest I should mistake one for the other*." But the character of Tooi exhibits a more than ordinary share of the cunning of his nation; and his courage may perhaps be thought to have been little more than a species of reckless and brutal frenzy. Some anecdotes, however, which are told of him shew that he was also capable of a generous daring, which would have done honour to the bravest. On one occasion a favourite Newfoundland dog, belonging to a ship in which he was, leapt overboard during the night, and swam to the shore of a desert island near which they lay; and the boats having been all despatched to a considerable distance to catch seals, there seemed no possibility of recovering the animal, which had now come down to the beach, and was howling piteously. But Tooi immediately set about constructing a bark of hoops and seal-skins, and in this he boldly volunteered to set out to fetch off the dog. Although he reached the shore in safety, the boat was capsized on its return, and Tooi and his charge were thrown into the sea, while the tide was drifting with great force. Incommoded as he was by the dog continually attempting

* Boswell's Life of Johnson.

to get on his back, Tooi was, after some time, almost overpowered; but at last both of them reached a point of land three or four miles distant from the ship. Here, although he gathered some oysters among the rocks, he could find no water. At length, after enduring the agonies of thirst for two days and nights, he resolved, although from want of nourishment he had become very weak, to attempt swimming for the ship. This he accomplished, but was so exhausted from his sufferings that he kept his hammock several days. The dog afterwards swam off, and was also saved.—Another time he was serving as one of the crew of a whaler, and was out in a boat with the captain and four men, when, having killed one whale, the boat was soon after struck by another, which dashed it to pieces, and at the same time broke both the captain's legs. The other men immediately swam away to the dead whale, from which they were now about two miles and a half distant. But Tooi, although thus deserted by his comrades, determined nôt to leave the captain to perish; and having caught him by a boat-hook while he was sinking, succeeded in getting him upon a piece of the wreck, where he bound up his wounds in the best manner he could, with his own shirt, and other clothing. He then left him upon a raft which he had constructed, and on which he fixed a flag, and swam away for the dead whale, where he found the other four men nearly exhausted, and unable from its slipperiness to get upon the fish. Tooi, however, had his knife slung round his neck, and with this he cut holes in the skin, by which they all ascended. They remained here for about two hours, at the end of which time a boat came and took them off, and then proceeded to the captain, who was also picked up. The captain recovered, and rewarded Tooi for his noble conduct. These anecdotes will probably induce

the reader to think that Captain Cruise speaks of this chief with too much severity, when he concludes his notice of him with the remark that they found him, "without exception, the greatest savage, and one of the most worthless and profligate men, in the Bay of Islands*."

Korro-korro, Tooi's elder brother, and lord of the district called Parro, in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, containing about five hundred fighting men, never was in England, but had resided for some time with Mr. Marsden, in New South Wales, and returned home with that gentleman and Mr. Nicholas, when they visited New Zealand in 1814. Although then apparently on very good terms with Shungie, he was the natural rival of that chief, and they were generally at war with each other. Korro-korro's features, although far from being so handsome as those of Shungie, are described by Mr. Nicholas as not uninteresting. Their predominant expression, however, was that of warlike ferocity. When recounting his martial exploits, in particular, he was agitated almost to frenzy. One day he gave them on board an exhibition of his plan of attacking his enemies. "His gesticulations," says Mr. Nicholas, "were on this occasion more furiously violent than ever I beheld them; he thrust out his tongue as far as it could go, tortured his countenance into all the horrible writhings of savage grimace, stamped on the deck like some angry fiend, and staring round him with the glare of the wildest frenzy in his eyes, he brought to our view the most hideous denizen of the infernal regions." Yet with all this ferocity, Korro-korro was a very child when the more tender emotions of his heart were appealed to. The warmth and constancy of his friendship was at least equal to the vehe-

* Cruise's Journal, p. 148.—The other authorities for the account that has been given of Tooi and Teeterree are the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, and the Missionary Register.

mence of his enmity; and of any sort of guile or dissimulation his character seems to have been entirely destitute. In this latter respect, he was a very opposite description of person to his brother Tooi, as well as to most of his countrymen. If he was a rude, he was also an honest barbarian. Mr. Marsden characterizes Korro-korro as "a very brave and sensible man." "I have seen no chief," he adds, "who has his people under such subjection and good order as he; yet he is tired of war, and wishes that there was no fighting at New Zealand."

The celebrated chief, George, the principal actor in the tragedy of the Boyd, is mentioned in most of the recent accounts of New Zealand. Mr. Nicholas and Mr. Marsden went ashore at Wangaroa, on their voyage to the Bay of Islands in 1814, for the purpose of meeting with him, and found him waiting their approach with about a hundred and fifty of his brother warriors, in an encampment a short distance up the country. Having served on board different whalers, George spoke English fluently; and he had acquired a coarse and impudent familiarity of demeanour, which was far from presenting a favourable contrast to the more simple, though equally unrefined manners of the others. When Mr. Nicholas went up to shake hands with him, he returned the compliment with a "How do you do, my boy?" uttered in a style of the most vulgar freedom, and at the same time with so much of the grimace of a low and insidious nature, that it was impossible not to feel disgusted. He gave them, without hesitation, a particular account both of the attack upon the Boyd and of his previous history. Captain Cruise, as has been already related, also met this chief repeatedly when he was at New Zealand, in the Dromedary. He is described by this writer, as in stature rather under the middle size, but strong and well

made; "but it appeared to many," it is added, "that the infamy of his character was marked in his countenance." It was with much difficulty that he was at first induced to venture himself on board the ship. When some of the officers afterwards visited him at his village, he was remarkably attentive to them; but his manner, notwithstanding, betrayed all the while mistrust, apprehension, and perplexity. "In the middle of some of his most animated conversations," says Captain Cruise, "his utterance seemed suddenly paralysed, and he observed the countenance of those about him with the most anxious suspicion; while at other times, breaking off the subject he was upon, he would enter into a detail of the different arrangements which he understood us to have made for his destruction; placing a number of little sticks upon the ground, and endeavouring with them to designate the manner in which the soldiers were to act in massacring himself, his brothers, and his tribe."

George, as may be supposed, was not less subject than his countrymen in general to sudden and violent attacks of passion; and his frenzy in such cases was sometimes rendered still more ungovernable by his indulgence in ardent spirits,—a habit, as we have already remarked, very unusual among the New Zealanders, and which he had acquired, along with several of his other accomplishments, from his service in the whale ships. One morning he came on board the Dromedary with a string of beads tied round his neck, which he had received from a girl of his tribe who had stolen them from one of the sailors. The man, on seeing his property in George's possession, civilly requested him to return it; but the chief had unfortunately just swallowed a glass of grog, and was in no humour to listen to such an application calmly. He instantly got into a violent rage, and stripping off his clothes to his shirt, threw them down upon the

capstan, together with whatever presents had been given to the women and children of his family, who had come with him; and all of whom he commanded instantly to leave the ship and go down into his canoe—applying a rope's end, without distinction, to any one who shewed the least hesitation in obeying his orders. "During this scene," says Captain Cruise, "he ran up and down the deck, nearly naked, exclaiming 'Me gentleman!' and exhibiting, in action and countenance, the most violent and savage ferocity." All of a sudden, however, he became perfectly calm—declared the whole was merely a joke—ordered his people again into the ship—and re-attired himself in the clothes he had so indignantly cast away. He then proceeded to ingratiate himself with the man who had offended him, and taking him by the arm, made use of every art to induce him to forget what had happened. It is evident that in this case, the rage of the barbarian having somewhat spent its fury and paused to take breath, his habitual cunning and avarice had instantly

taken advantage of the opportunity to regain their wonted ascendancy. George loved his property a great deal too well to be inclined to lose it so foolishly.

In intellectual capacity this chief appears, indeed, to have been far from deficient. Captain Cruise mentions a speech which he addressed to his tribe on one occasion, which lasted two hours, and seems to have displayed great powers of eloquence. "At times," says the author, "his action was so violent, that he became almost unable to articulate, and he was obliged, occasionally, to pause to recover himself; but, notwithstanding his agitation, his deportment, whether standing or pacing up and down the circle, was commanding and unembarrassed, and he was heard by the audience who sat round him, with unwearied attention. We lamented that we had not an interpreter in whom we could confide, to explain the purport of his long harangue; but we could not help admiring in this instance, as we had in many others, the free-born confidence with which these people communicate their sentiments to one another; the natural ease and gracefulness of their carriage; and the marked silence and deference with which they are heard."

George never entirely got over his apprehensions that the English intended to take vengeance on him for the destruction of the Boyd. He appears to have become odious even among his own countrymen on account of this transaction; and we find him in 1823 complaining to Mr. Marsden of the insults and other inconveniences to which it had subjected him. He was at this time very much inclined to visit Port Jackson, where he had hitherto been afraid to trust himself; but he was still by no means certain that the authorities there would not hang him, if they should get him into their power. He determined therefore to send his brother's daughter in the first instance; and if she was

not hanged, afterwards to go himself*. We do not find, however, that he ever accomplished his visit. In 1823 the Wesleyan Missionary Society had succeeded in forming a small establishment on his territory, to which he granted for some time a capricious and uncertain protection. At last, in the spring of 1825, we read of his being dangerously ill. Finding himself to be dying, he now seems to have begun to recollect the misdeeds of his life with some regret; but his penitence took rather a whimsical direction. The chief thing for which he felt remorse was that he had never exacted *utu*, or payment, for the death of his father, who was accidentally killed, it will be remembered, by the explosion of a cask of powder on board the Boyd at the time of the massacre. He could now, however, only leave his unsatisfied claims as a legacy to his friends; and he therefore enjoined the natives of another part of the country, with whom he was in alliance, to be sure, in case of his death, to fall upon the missionaries, and, if not to kill them, at least to strip them of all they possessed. Comforting himself in some measure with this pious arrangement, the conscientious chief lingered for a few weeks longer, and at last died some time in the month of April†.

The sketches which we have thus given of some of the most powerful chiefs of New Zealand with whom Europeans have of late had intercourse, afford a valuable lesson to those who may thoughtlessly consider the institutions and laws of a settled government as troublesome restraints. In a country where there is no responsibility attached to the possession of power, to what miserable ends must even the highest talents and the noblest natures be directed; what a mad and brief intoxication, at the

* Miss. Reg. for 1824, p. 517.
† Miss. Reg. for 1826, p. 165.

best, must be the only happiness that can be known in such a scene of restlessness, insecurity, and the unlicensed sway of all the worst and most destroying passions. And if this be a faithful representation of the condition of the higher orders, how much more wretched must be that of the great body of the people, who have not even any wild feeling of independence to sweeten their sufferings, but are the despised and helpless victims of that state of turbulence in which their country is kept by the incessant animosities of their chiefs, existing as they do for hardly any other end than to be kicked about as footballs in the rude and bloody game. Such exhibitions as this tend to make us estimate aright the blessings of civilization. They ought, too, to make us shrink from the gratification of that propensity to war which has been as much the curse of civilized as of savage life.

Military Gorget, or Breast Ornament.

Chap. XIV.

Notice of Mowhee.—Account of Tupai Cupa.

One of the most interesting of the New Zealanders who have been lately introduced to civilized society was young Mowhee, who died a few years ago in London. Mowhee appears to have been born about the year 1796, and was nearly related to Tarra, a powerful chief in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands. When he was about nine or ten years of age his curiosity was so much excited by the accounts he received of Port Jackson, from one of his countrymen who had just returned from a visit to that settlement, that he could take no rest till he had embarked on board an English vessel, which conveyed him to Norfolk Island. Here he was received into the family of a Mr. Drummond, who treated him with great kindness, and had him sent to school, and taught a little reading and writing. He now took the name of Tommy Drummond, after his benefactor. On the breaking up of the colony at Norfolk Island, Mr. Drummond and his family removed to New South Wales, and carried Tommy with them. While here he was employed at first in herding sheep; but he soon grew tired of this occupation, which was but little calculated to gratify his wish of seeing the world, and it was arranged that he should be removed to the family of the Rev. Mr. Marsden, in the neighbourhood of Sydney Town.

Here he resided for about a year, being required to do little more than occasionally to assist the other servants. In November, 1814, when Mr. Marsden and Mr. Nicholas went to New Zealand, they took Mowhee with them, who had been eight or nine years absent from his native country. It was intended when he was taken on board the ship that he should wait upon the gentlemen in the cabin ; but they soon found him of very little service in this way. His whole soul was given to the songs and tales of the other New Zealanders who were his fellow-passengers, and no reprimand could make him pay attention to anything else. He spent the day in laughing with his countrymen, and joining them in the performance of the national dances; though Mr. Nicholas remarks that his movements were stiff and awkward, as compared with those of the other natives.

On landing he was carried by Mr. Marsden to the old chief, Tarra, where he met with a number of his other relations, who manifested the liveliest emotion on seeing him. His meeting with his mother a few days afterwards was a scene of still deeper tenderness. The poor woman, who came on board the ship to find her son, knew him as soon as she saw him, though he had now, from a boy of eight or nine, which he was when he parted from her, become a youth of eighteen. Running up to him she threw herself at his feet, to which she clung for a long time without uttering a word, and only pouring out her affection in floods of tears. Mowhee himself was not less strongly moved. On the departure of the Active he was left in New Zealand; and could he have now remained at home, the advantages he had reaped from his foreign travel might probably have given him the same influence among his countrymen which

the native of Otaheite, whom we have already mentioned, was found to have acquired. But his passion for seeing the wonders of civilized life had only been strengthened by the imperfect opportunities he had yet enjoyed of gratifying it. While residing at Port Jackson, he had of course heard a great deal of England; and the desire of visiting this land of wonders still haunted him incessantly. Accordingly, he had not been a year among his countrymen when he embarked on board an English ship, in which he agreed to serve as a common sailor, on condition of obtaining a free passage to London. In this vessel he arrived in the Thames in May 1815, in a state of almost complete destitution. Not knowing any other way of disposing of him, the captain carried him to the house of the Church Missionary Society; where it was immediately determined that he should be taken care of, and arrangements made for his deriving as much benefit as possible from his visit to this country. His former protectors had already instructed him in the principles of Christianity; and he now became very deeply impressed by religious feelings, under the influence of which, whatever of the barbarian remained about him was gradually tamed and softened down into gentleness, docility, and the most patient and persevering application. His only ambition now was to qualify himself for returning home, and instructing his countrymen in the faith which he had himself embraced, and the arts of civilization. Having been sent to school he very soon made such proficiency as to be able to assist the master in teaching some of the younger classes; and before the lapse of many months he had attained a very creditable expertness in drawing, and had successfully commenced the study of the mathematics. But, like nearly all his countrymen who have visited

our shores, Mowhee soon began to droop under the effects of the climate; and his constitution was already greatly broken down, when, towards the close of the year, he was attacked by a putrid fever, which carried him off after a few days' illness. The history of Mowhee resembles that of Duaterra in some respects, and particularly in the hardships to which both voluntarily submitted, in seeking after such knowledge in other countries as was not to be found in their own. They were also both cut off at the very time when their struggles and misfortunes seemed at an end, and each promised, by the acquisitions he had made, to be of more service than any other person could be in forwarding the civilization of New Zealand *.

We are about to introduce to our readers a highly interesting native of New Zealand, who has recently visited our shores, but of whom, we believe, no account has yet been given to the public. We are indebted for the particulars we have to state to the obliging communications of Dr. Traill, of Liverpool, to whom nothing is indifferent that is calculated to throw light upon any department of science or letters, and to advance the cause of general improvement.

It was in the early part of the year 1826 that Dr. Traill met with Tupai Cupa, having been called in to visit him as he lay ill of the measles, at Liverpool. He found him living with a Captain Reynolds, of the Urania, a South-Sea trader, belonging to Messrs. Staniforth and Gosling, of London, in which he had come

* Proceedings of Church Missionary Society for 1817, p. 469. Id. for 1821, p. 298. Missionary Register for 1816, p. 500. Id. for 1817, p. 71. Nicholas's Voyage, i. 255, &c.

from his native country. The manner in which he had introduced himself to Captain Reynolds was very extraordinary, and strikingly evinces the intrepidity and energy of his character. While the Urania was sailing through Cook's Strait, which, as has been mentioned, divides the two islands that constitute New Zealand, three large canoes, containing together between seventy and eighty natives, were seen making for the vessel, to the no small alarm of the crew, who prepared, however, to give the savages a warm reception in case their intentions should prove to be hostile. As the largest canoe approached, one of the natives in it stood up, and by signs and a few words of broken English intimated his desire to be taken on board. This was Tupai Cupa. His request was refused by Captain Reynolds, who was apprehensive of some treachery; but as it was observed that there were no arms in the canoe, it was suffered to come close up to the ship. On this the resolute savage, though the Captain still persisted in declining to receive him, sprung from his place among his countrymen, and in an instant was on the deck. The first thing he did after getting on board was to order the canoes to retire to some distance. This was to shew that his intentions were entirely peaceful. He then by signs not to be mistaken asked the Captain for fire-arms; and when his request was refused, he immediately announced the determination he had formed of proceeding, in spite of all opposition, to England. "Go Europe," said he, "see King Georgy." Embarrassed by this resolution, the Captain, after trying in vain to persuade him to re-enter his canoe, at last ordered three of his stoutest seamen to throw him overboard. All the New Zealanders, he knew, swim well, and the canoes were still at no great distance. Tupai, however, perceived what was

intended; and instantly throwing himself down on the deck, seized two ring-bolts with so powerful a hold that it was impossible to tear him away without such violence as the humanity of Captain Reynolds would not permit. When this struggle was over, the chief, for such it could be no longer doubted that he was, feeling himself to be firmly established on board, called out to his people in the canoes that he was on his way to Europe, and ordered them to return to the shore. His command was instantly obeyed. For some days Captain Reynolds made several attempts to land him on different parts of the neighbouring coast, but could not effect his object on account of the winds. In these circumstances, finding he could do no better, he gave up the expectation of getting rid of his unwelcome guest, and resolved to make his situation on board the ship as comfortable as he could. By degrees the manners of the New Zealander won the respect and attachment of the seamen; and before the vessel reached Lima they were on the best terms. At Monte Video an incident occurred which knit Tupai and Captain Reynolds in indissoluble friendship. The Captain fell overboard, and would have perished but for the intrepidity of Tupai, who plunged after him into the water, and having caught hold of him as he was sinking, supported him with the one hand, while he swam with the other, till they were both again taken on board. So strong had the attachment of Tupai and Captain Reynolds become after this adventure, that, when in Liverpool, the former, Dr. Traill relates, appeared uneasy whenever the latter absented himself an hour or two longer than usual; and, for fear his friend and protector should be carried away from him, he had removed the Captain's luggage to his own bedroom. On the other hand the conduct

of Captain Reynolds to the stranger with the charge of whom he had thus been burthened, was marked throughout by a kindness and solicitude that did him the highest honour. Though then out of employment, and but in slender circumstances, he shared his humble lot with his friend, and had steadily resisted repeated proposals that had been made to him to have Tupai exhibited for money. During the time of his sickness in particular he experienced the greatest attention both from the Captain and his wife. But for the almost constant presence of the former, indeed, the poor chief would have been helpless enough, even after reaching this country: for although he had learned to understand a few words of English, when spoken to him, he had not acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to express himself in it even on the most common occasions; and Captain Reynolds, who could converse with him in his native tongue, was therefore absolutely necessary to him as an interpreter.

When Dr. Traill was called to see Tupai, he found him, as we have mentioned, suffering under the measles, and attended by a surgeon, by whom he had been vaccinated some weeks before. By the timely use of the lancet and blistering the disease was fortunately subdued; and in a short time the patient had perfectly recovered. He remained at Liverpool for some weeks after he got well; and during this time he was a frequent visitor at Dr. Traill's house. That gentleman had, therefore, the best opportunities of observing his character and manners, and obtaining from him much curious information regarding his countrymen.

Tupai Cupa appeared to be yet in the vigour of life; although, upon setting out on his adventurous expedition, he had left his eldest son, he stated, to

command his tribe in his absence. His face was intelligent and pleasing, though so much tatooed that scarcely any part of its original colour remained visible. Indeed, every part of his body was plentifully covered with these marks. His finely muscular arms, in particular, were furrowed by a great many single black lines; and these, he said, denoted the number of the wounds he had received in battle. In his general demeanour he was very gentle and tractable, but would at times shew a good deal both of the fickleness and the sudden irritability of the savage. On one occasion, when on board the ship, a stout sailor had intentionally affronted him; on which he rushed upon the man, seized him by the neck and the waistband of the trowsers, and after holding him for some moments above his head, dashed him on the deck with great violence. This appears, however, to have been a rare instance of excitement. When in company his manners were perfectly unembarrassed, and shewed the natural ease of one accustomed to consideration. Yet, conscious of the propriety of conforming himself to the customs of the country in which he was, he was constantly on the watch to observe the behaviour of those around him; and in general his imitation of them was both quick and surprisingly free from awkwardness. In taking his lesson, as it might be called, his practice was to keep his eye on those whom he considered the chief persons in the company. At table, though usually helped first, as being the greatest stranger, he never began to eat, especially if the dish was new to him, until he saw how others used their spoon, or knife and fork. The use of finger-glasses and table-napkins he very soon apprehended; and although at first he drank the water from the former, he never again fell into that error.

The object for the sake of which Tupai had undertaken the extraordinary voyage on which he had entered with such determined resolution, was the same which has of late years attracted several others of his countrymen to England. He came, according to his own avowal, to obtain a supply of fire-arms. No New Zealand chief, however, of whom any account has yet been transmitted to this country, is to be regarded as approaching this personage in point of power and importance, if we are to trust the account which he gave of the extent of his territories. When his native country was shewn to him in a chart, he at once recognised it; and being asked to point out the spot where he himself resided, he described his dominions as embracing the whole of that portion in the southern extremity of the North Island, which would be cut off by a line drawn from Sugar-Loaf Point * on the west, to Cape Turn-again on the east coast, being an extent of country certainly not much less than a fourth part of the whole island. His principal residence he stated to be on Entry Island, which is a short distance from the shore, on the north side of Cook's Strait, and nearly opposite to the entrance into Queen Charlotte's Sound. Exactly facing this small island, a deep and spacious inlet, he said, ran up very far into the country. He also described another inlet, not quite so extensive, as intersecting the land farther to the east, between Cape Terrawitte and Cape Palliser. This part of the coast was very imperfectly surveyed by Cook, who, indeed, delineates the greater part of it merely from conjecture; and no account has been

* Sugar-loaf Point, which is not noticed in the small map prefixed to this account, is very nearly immediately under the 41st parallel of latitude.

published of it since his time. Tupai asserted that the shores of these inland seas are covered with lofty trees of the cowry species to the water's edge.

Tupai had been one of the principal among the many sufferers from Shungie's devastating proceedings, after the return of that warlike chief from Europe, with a large supply of arms, and inflamed, in consequence, with an ambition and military ardour which aimed at nothing short of the subjugation of the whole country. The nearest part of Tupai's territories lay at the distance of fully four hundred miles from those of this powerful and restless captain; they were, in fact, divided from each other by nearly the whole length of the island. Nothing, therefore, can shew in a stronger light the extent to which Shungie carried his views of conquest, than that they should have brought him into collision with the people of a district separated from his own by so long an interval. It does not appear from Tupai's account whether or not Shungie actually invaded his territories; and perhaps we are rather to understand that the two parties, as is customary in the wars of this nation, met by agreement somewhere in the intermediate country, and there decided their differences. Unacquainted with the formidable weapons which his antagonist was bringing against him, Tupai of course would not hesitate to accept the challenge which called him out to the rencounter; nor, perhaps, even if he had been better aware of the effect of fire-arms than he probably was, would he have been held justified by the rules of New Zealand chivalry in declining the defiance. At all events, the two chiefs met and fought, and the result was the defeat of Tupai. This event was followed by the most calamitous consequences to the unfortunate chief. Pursuing his advantage, Shungie drove his

discomfited opponent before him, until he had forced him to take refuge with only a few of his followers in one of his pahs, or hill-forts; and from this strong-hold the miserable man, among other atrocities committed on his people, was doomed to see two of his children cut up and devoured by his merciless victor before his eyes. This horrible outrage, although he doubtless was accustomed to those scenes of frantic barbarity which are so common in the wars of his country, seems to have riven his heart with unextinguishable agony, and the memory of that hour continued to burn within him throughout every change of scene. When in England, he was greatly moved the first time he saw one of Dr. Traill's sons, a boy about four years of age. Taking the child on his knee, he kissed him and wept; and when asked the reason of this emotion, he replied that the little fellow was just the age of one of his own boys, whom he had seen killed and eaten. He then, with a voice and frame tremulous with agitation, detailed the manner in which his child was butchered; and his face assumed an expression in the highest degree terrific, when he intimated by a few hurried words, and by signs not easily misunderstood, that he had beheld his enemy scoop out its eyes and devour them. His paroxysm of grief subsided in muttered threats of vengeance; and it was evident that the hope of an approaching day of retribution was now the most cherished thought of his heart.

Although he had come to England, however, merely to obtain the means of meeting his great enemy in equal battle, he professed to be determined to discourage, on his return, those ferocious excesses with which his countrymen were wont to heighten the unavoidable horrors of war. It was customary

among them, he acknowledged, to drink the warm blood of those whom they slew in fight; but he declared that he would no longer permit his own tribe to do so. Nor should he himself, he said, ever again eat raw flesh, or kill any one except in battle; but he would try to live in all respects like the white men. Notwithstanding the savage customs, indeed, in which he had been educated, Tupai gave many evidences of a naturally humane and affectionate disposition; and was besides so manifestly a man of shrewd observation and general intelligence, that it can hardly be supposed the opportunity he had of becoming acquainted with civilized life would fail to impress him forcibly with a sense of the dark and degraded condition of his own country. Whether he would have sufficient authority, or energy of character, to introduce any salutary reforms among his people when he got back to New Zealand, obliged as he would be to act alone and unsupported, and placed again in the midst of many influences unfavourable to such an attempt, may reasonably be doubted.

During the time he remained in England, however, he was very inquisitive in regard to whatever he conceived his own country stood most in need of, among the objects which he chanced to fall in with. Dr. Traill took him several times out with him in his gig on short excursions to the country in the neighbourhood of Liverpool; and on these occasions he had many questions to ask, which he put with much sagacity. Every thing relating to agriculture and smithwork especially interested him. His surprise at seeing how wheat grew and was converted into flour was as great as that which we have already mentioned as having been exhibited by the chiefs of the Bay of Islands, when Duaterra first shewed them

the grain he had grown, and distributed among them the cake which he baked of it. It was found impossible to make Tupai comprehend the machinery of some of the more complicated mills he was taken to see; the only mode of communication which was practicable in the circumstances was too imperfect to enable his friends to convey to him the necessary explanations, even had he been in a condition to understand them. But on being shewn a water-mill for grinding flour, he readily perceived how the fall of water moved the great wheel, and seemed also to conceive the manner in which the motion was communicated to the upper stone. Another machine, if it may be called so, of a very different description, was perfectly level to his capacity, and not a little surprised and delighted him. This was the bow, which, as we have already stated, is, strangely enough, entirely unknown in New Zealand, addicted as the people are to fighting, and although this seems to be one of the simplest and most obvious of warlike weapons. He repeatedly practised shooting with it, and expressed much pleasure on perceiving the force with which the arrow entered its object. Some bows and arrows which were presented to him by his friends in Liverpool were carefully put up and highly prized; and although he was aware that this instrument was very inferior in efficiency to the musket, he evidently looked upon it as a substitute of no mean value.

His surprise was extreme the first time he saw a man on horseback. He asked at once, what kind of animal it was; and seemed utterly confounded when he beheld the rider leisurely dismount and walk away. He would often mention how greatly this had astonished him. When he became more familiar with the phenomenon he expressed a wish to get on

horseback himself; and, having mounted, he was at first quite delighted to find the animal walking about with him; but on his chancing to slacken the reins, the horse set off, and poor Tupai was quickly thrown to the ground with some violence, a catastrophe he was by no means prepared for.

Dr. Traill carried him one day to see a review of a regiment of dragoons, a spectacle of course altogether to his taste. The gay appearance of the troops—their evolutions in making a charge—and the command which the men exercised over their horses,—all drew from him the warmest expressions of wonder and delight. Having asked to whom they belonged, and having been told to King George, he inquired if the king had many more such warriors? and on being informed that he had a great many more, he immediately exclaimed, "why then he not give Tupai musketry and swordy?" expressing at the same time his readiness to pay liberally for such commodities in spars and flax. The flax he called arekeeky, a term which we do not find elsewhere mentioned; koreddy, or koradi, being that generally used. Yet that the *Phormium tenax* was what Tupai alluded to clearly appeared from his instant recognition of a specimen of that plant which he saw in a greenhouse. Delighted, when it caught his eye, as if he had met with an old friend, he at once called out "arekeeky, arekeeky," and then laughed heartily at its being carefully placed in a pot, remarking that it would grow very large if merely planted in a field; that it was very common in his country, and was not worth all the care we in England bestowed on it. He seemed to think the plant he saw but an indifferent one; and said he would send much better from New Zealand.

When Dr. Traill and Tupai rode out together they

used to be surrounded by immense crowds of spectators, whenever they stopped in the streets; and the chief was highly gratified by the curiosity of the people, touching his hat to them, and shaking hands with many of them. One day, a girl selling oranges having held up her basket to invite him to purchase some, he supposed that she was offering the whole to him as a present, and forthwith began to gather all the fruit into the carriage. It was found impossible to make him understand the matter; and he was therefore permitted to empty the basket, the woman being paid without his knowledge. On returning home, accordingly, he told Captain Reynolds, with no little appearance of satisfaction, how greatly he had been admired, and how extremely kind the people had been in making him presents.

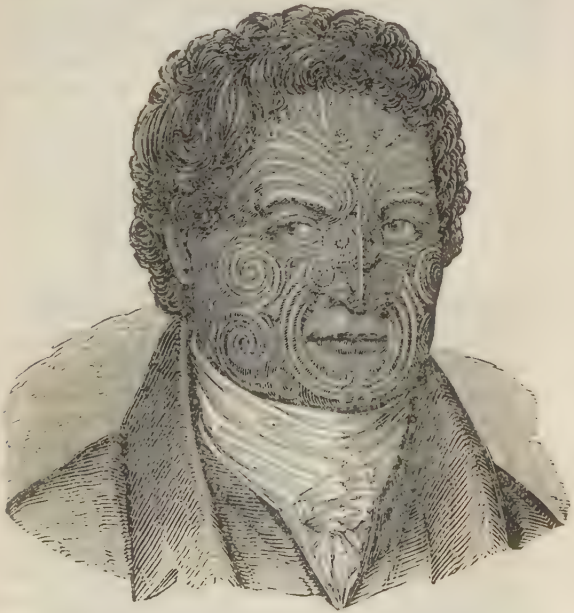
But among the various articles which were given him, he always set a far higher value upon those which he deemed really useful, than upon such as were merely shewy. Next to fire-arms, iron tools and agricultural implements were the great objects of his ambition. Saws, hatchets, and chisels were much prized by him; as were also knives and forks, which he said he would, on his return home, introduce among his countrymen. Dr. Traill made him a present of a common travelling knife, fork, and spoon, the combination of which in one piece was a subject of great admiration to him; and the chuckle of delight with which he received the gift was quite indescribable. It was exceeded only by the ecstacy into which he was thrown on being presented, by another friend, with some old muskets and a brass musketoon, when he shouted aloud, and actually capered for joy.

It is a curious illustration of the difficulty of obtaining correct information as to many of the cus-

toms and opinions prevailing among a people whose social condition is very different from our own, that during all the time Tupai had been with Captain Reynolds, from their first meeting in New Zealand, till their arrival in England, the latter was never able to discover that his friend had any notion of a superior intelligence, or being, either good or evil. It was even a considerable time before Dr. Traill was able to ascertain the truth as to this matter. At last, one day, as they rode past a church, Tupai inquired whose great house it was, and was told that it was built by Englishmen for the purpose of praying to the Great Spirit in Heaven, who sends rain, and wind, and thunder. This explanation, being translated by Captain Reynolds, with the help of signs imitating the act of prayer, seemed to be understood; and Tupai being then asked if there was not also a great spirit in his country, answered, "Oh, yes—many; some good—some very bad—send storms and sickness." He intimated at the same time, by expressive signs, that his countrymen were in the habit of praying to all of them. He was afterwards taken to church, and seemed to comprehend the general meaning of the worship, which he observed with great attention. Some endeavours were made to impress upon him the doctrine of there being only one God; but the success of the attempt remained doubtful.

Some very curious information was accidentally obtained from Tupai on the subject of the amoco. The sketch of his head from which the accompanying engraving is copied, was taken while he was at Liverpool, by his acquaintance Mr. John Sylvester; and Tupai took the greatest interest in the progress of the performance. But he was above all solicitous that the marks upon his face should be ac-

curately copied in the drawing; the figure, he explained, not being by any means a mere work of fancy, but formed according to certain rules of art, which determined the direction of every line. It constituted, in fact, the distinctive mark of the individual; and one part, indeed, of that on his own



Portrait of Tupai Cupa.

face, the mark just over the upper part of his nose, Tupai constantly called his name; saying, "Europee man write with pen his name,—Tupai's name is here," pointing to his forehead. Still further to illustrate his meaning, he would delineate on paper, with

a pen or pencil, the corresponding marks in the amocos of his brother and his son, and point out the difference between these and his own. But it was not only the portion of the decoration which he called his name with which Tupai was familiar; every line, both on his face and on the other parts of his body, was permanently registered in his memory. We have already given a cut of the amoco of another New Zealand chief, as drawn by himself; and here is a delineation which Tupai made, without the aid of a glass, of the stains on his own face.

Tattooing on the face of Tupai Cupa, from a drawing by himself.

When Tupai's talent in this species of drawing was discovered, many applications were made to him

by his Liverpool acquaintances for specimens of his art; and for a fortnight a great part of his time was occupied in manufacturing these pictures of the scars with which his face was impressed. The depth and profusion of the tattooing, he stated, indicated the dignity of the individual; and according to this rule, he must himself have been a chief of distinguished rank, as scarcely any of the original skin of his countenance remained. Some of his performances also exhibited representations of the figures on the other parts of his body; and he drew for Dr. Traill the amocos of his brother and of his eldest son, the youth whom, as has been already mentioned, he had left to command his tribe till his return. On finishing the latter, he held it up, gazed at it with a murmur of affectionate delight, kissed it many times, and, as he presented it, burst into tears.

These anecdotes form altogether the most pleasing picture we possess of New Zealand character; and shew what might be made of this warm-hearted people, were those unfortunate circumstances in the condition of their country removed, which turn so many of their best qualities to so bad a use, and make their sensibility, their bravery, even their ingenuity and intellectual capacity itself, only subservient to the inflammation of their mutual animosities, and the infusion of additional ferocity and a more insatiable spirit of revenge into their interminable warfare. Tupai, while emancipated from these unhappy influences, and surrounded by the milder manners of civilized society, was all gentleness and affection. The barbarian, who had so often dealt death around him in the combat or the massacre, was now the playmate of children, and the compliant learner and imitator of the customs of peace. No one could have shewn a finer natural disposition for all the

amenities of civilized life. His gratitude for whatever little services were rendered to him was always expressed warmly and in such a manner as shewed that it came from the heart. On departing from Liverpool he took leave of Dr. Traill with much emotion; first kissing his hands, and then, evidently forgetting or disregarding in the warmth of his feelings the new forms which he had been taught since he came to Europe, and reverting to those which his heart doubtless deemed far more expressive, rubbing noses with him after the fashion of his native country with passionate cordiality. He assured the worthy physician at the same time that if he would come to Tupai's country he should have plenty to eat, and might carry away with him as much flax and as many spars as he pleased.

Dr. Traill was so strongly impressed with the advantages that might be derived from Tupai's visit to this country, and the opportunity thus afforded us of securing the friendship of so powerful a chief, and one who had already given so extraordinary a proof both of his daring and energetic character, and of his disposition to cultivate relations with England, that he took means to have a representation upon the subject laid before government. There could be no doubt, from Tupai's account, that his territory abounded both in the cowry tree and in flax; and it was extremely probable that both these valuable productions might be procured with more facility, or of better quality, from this than from any other district of New Zealand. We have stated in a former chapter that the finer description of the flax grows only in the southern part of the island. The difficulty of obtaining the cowry tree at those parts of the country which have been hitherto resorted to for that purpose, has arisen from its growing either too far

inland to be transported to the sea, or only on the banks of rivers which ships of considerable burthen could not enter. But Tupai described the two inlets leading from Cook's Strait into the heart of his territory as both deep and spacious enough for the largest vessels, and as being bordered with wood to the water's edge. The establishment of a trade in these commodities with the Europeans, in order to obtain a supply of fire-arms, was a favourite speculation of Tupai; and his notions on the subject of commerce were certainly reasonable enough. Captain Reynolds, said he, may buy a ship and bring it to New Zealand, where Tupai will load it with flax: Captain Reynolds can sell that in Europe, and with the produce purchase guns, cutlery, &c.; and when he returns with these articles, Tupai will give him another cargo of flax for his trouble.

It appeared, too, that other nations were not unlikely, if we did not, to attempt the establishment of a regular commercial intercourse with the New Zealanders. When Captain Reynolds was returning to Europe he fell in with an American ship, the captain of which came on board the Urania; and when he heard the story of Tupai, he offered Reynolds a thousand dollars if he would transfer the New Zealand chief to his vessel.

In consequence of Dr. Traill's representation, a treasury order was immediately transmitted empowering Captain Reynolds to draw a weekly allowance for Tupai's support: and it was at the same time intimated that he should be sent back at the expense of government to his own country. It had been determined, however, not to furnish him with fire-arms; for reasons which will be sufficiently understood by all acquainted with the calamitous consequences which have of late years resulted from

the introduction of these implements into New Zealand.

On leaving Liverpool, accordingly, Tupai proceeded to London; and soon after is understood to have set sail for New South Wales. Government kindly presented him with various agricultural and other useful implements; and he was at the same time furnished with orders on the governor of Sydney for different domesticated animals.

We have no accounts of Tupai since he set sail for New Zealand; but unsuccessful as he was in regard to the principal object of his expedition, it may be hoped, from the temper he shewed and the manner in which he was treated while in England, that his short intercourse with the civilized world would not be altogether without its improving and humanizing effects on his future life. Now that his great enemy Shungie is no more, he has a better chance of being allowed to live in tranquillity, if he will only consent to forget the wrongs he has already received; and, in that case, with even the imperfect notions of civilization he acquired during his visit to this country, he may become an important benefactor to his own.

The last natives of New Zealand that are known to have visited England, are the two mentioned in a former chapter, who are at present, or were lately, making a progress among our provincial towns, and exhibiting themselves for money to the public. According to our correspondent, who has favoured us with an account of their performances at Birmingham, where they were last autumn, the age of the elder of the two appeared to be about fifty; the other seemed little more than twenty. They were both well made, athletic fellows, the younger

displaying a decidedly fine figure, and very handsome features. We are not informed from what part of New Zealand they had come; but as they professed to be converts to Christianity, it is probable, unless they had learned their new faith since their arrival in this country, that they were from the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, where the English settlements are established. Their object in visiting England, they stated, was merely to observe the manners and condition of the people; and the histories of Duaterra, Mowhee, and others of their countrymen, would lead us to hold it not altogether unlikely that they may have been principally incited to set out on their travels by some such curiosity to see the wonders of civilized life as they described to have been their motive. They were attended by an Englishman, who had been many years in New Zealand, and was familiar with the language. Having no other funds, they were obliged, they said, to collect, by their exhibitions, the means for their support while in this country.

The elder described himself as the chief of his tribe; and his claim to this dignity seemed to be confirmed by the extent to which his face was tattooed. His forehead and right cheek were almost entirely blackened by this operation; but a small part upon the left cheek still remained untouched. Upon being asked, however, if he ever meant to have this vacant space ornamented like the rest, he replied that it certainly should be so, as soon as he had attained a rank to entitle him to that honour. This is quite in conformity with Tupai Cupa's information that the rank of the individual was always indicated by the extent or complication of his amoco. We may perhaps find here also the true explanation of Captain Cruise's assertion, that the tattooing is sometimes repeated in consequence of the marks having become faint after

a lapse of years. Probably this supposed repetition of the operation is rather the addition of some lines to the figure, when the individual has attained a higher rank.

Both these New Zealanders were dressed in their native garments, woven, as usual, of the *Phormium tenax*. The weapons they exhibited were spears of various dimensions, clubs, swords, and knives; the stock or handle of their cutting instruments being generally of wood, and the blade of stone. They also shewed a stone chisel, which was employed they said for striking the death-blow in human sacrifices. If this statement was correct, or correctly understood, it probably referred to the practice of killing a number of slaves on the death of a chief, as an offering to his manes—the only practice of the New Zealanders which we find elsewhere recorded that could be properly described as that of human sacrifice.

We have already mentioned those parts of their performance which consisted in the exhibition of their native modes of devotion, and of the manner in which they obtain fire by the friction of two pieces of wood. But the most striking part of the spectacle was the imitation which they gave of some of their customs of war. First were shewn the grimaces and contortions used in challenging the enemy to battle. These, as well as the chant or yell by which they were accompanied, which was remarkably lively and varied, were all obviously expressive of the bitterest hatred and scorn, and could not well be mistaken for anything else than the most direct insults. The battle itself of course was left to the imaginations of the audience; the next part of the performance was the lamentation for the slain. This was followed by the rejoicings for the victory, in which especially the two performers worked themselves up to a state of extraordinary excitement. Grasping each of them

a spear, they commenced a kind of dance, accompanying their movements by a chant, which, although at first low and monotonous, grew gradually louder and more varied, while at the same time they threw about their limbs every moment with more vigour and rapidity, and their countenances became animated by a fiercer and fiercer expression of triumphant hatred. At last their whole movements displayed an energy and wildness hardly to be conceived; at every leap they sprang several feet from the ground; their tones became almost as piercing and terrific as the roar of the elephant; and the countenances of both, but particularly that of the younger, assumed an expression of malignant exultation altogether fiendish. This dance lasted for several minutes, and seemed to strike the more juvenile part of the audience with consternation; nor probably was there any individual present whom it did not impress with a strong sense of the danger in encountering a band of these savages when their passions were thus excited.

At the request of the pupils of a school in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, these interesting persons visited that establishment, and repeated their performances there. At the close of the exhibition, it was proposed that they should compete with some of the young gentlemen in a trial of strength and skill in throwing the spear. They readily accepted this offer, but displayed no extraordinary strength or dexterity at the exercise; not surpassing or even equalling the efforts of several of the elder pupils, either in length of throw or correctness of aim. They accounted for this, however, by stating that the lances they used in their own country were both longer and lighter than those put into their hands on this occasion. But it is certain that the notions which were long entertained, as to the

generally superior bodily strength of savages as compared with the natives of civilized countries, are altogether unfounded.

To the questions that poured in upon them from all sides, from the curiosity of their young observers, these two New Zealanders, for the most part, returned willing and ready answers; and they displayed in their turn much inquisitiveness respecting the various objects which they saw. Both acknowledged that, in the celebration of their victories, they had partaken of human flesh; and when pressed to declare whether, as they were now Christians, they would resume this practice on their return to New Zealand, they replied with a degree of indecision, which seemed to indicate less aversion to the banquet in question, than disinclination to avow their partiality for it.

We understand that these two persons have been attacked, within a few weeks, with measles, the disease which has been so fatal to other individuals of uncivilized countries who have come to England. It is said that they have been abandoned by a man who is supposed to have made a profit of them in this country;—and that they are now (March 1830), maintained at Derby, until they recover, by the kindness of a gentleman of that town.

Chapter XV.

General view of the aspects which Civilized Life presents to the Savage.

From the intercourse between Rutherford and the common people of New Zealand, he had opportunities of observing their characters in the lowest darkness under which the great body of such a nation must live. He affirms that it was the general belief that New Zealand comprised all of the habitable globe, and that the men who came to their country in ships lived always upon the waters. The difficulty in making these people comprehend a thing which they have not seen, has been exhibited in several instances; and Rutherford's statement, therefore, upon this point is not contradicted by the circumstance that many New Zealanders have been both to England and to New South Wales. If this belief be at all general we can easily understand how the natives have been struck with astonishment at many circumstances arising out of our intercourse with them, which are sometimes viewed with indifference by other barbarians. At any rate the belief, whether it be partial or universal, is a proof of the isolated state in which these islanders have lived for many centuries. They have dwelt in a world of their own; and what, therefore, belonged exclusively to a world beyond the waters was calculated to seize with irresistible force upon their natural curiosity. The objects which have excited their surprise are to us 'neither new nor rare;'—but it may be instructive to show under what different aspects they have presented themselves to the minds of savages.

Some of the natives, as we have already had occa-

sion to mention, came on board the Active while she was in the neighbourhood of the North Cape, and on her way to the Bay of Islands. Nothing could exceed the astonishment which these people manifested at the various wonders which the ship presented to them. The operation of shaving, which they saw Mr. Marsden perform, seemed in particular to strike them as a most singular exhibition; and one of them stood looking on the whole time so transfixed, that, having opened his mouth as wide as he could on the first impulse of his amazement, he did not shut it till the whole process was finished. The sight of their faces in a looking-glass of course startled them exceedingly at first, and was afterwards a source of infinite amusement. This is a common effect produced by the sight of a mirror upon all savages. When Lee Boo first saw himself in a mirror at Canton, his amazement exceeded all bounds*. It is the same, in a degree, with children, and some of the lower animals. What most of all excited the wonder of the New Zealanders, were the cows and horses. One of them asked in great perplexity where the mouth of a cow was, which he saw with its head hanging down†. To people who had never beheld any quadruped larger than a hog, the size of these animals must have seemed quite preternatural. When the Active arrived at the Bay of Islands, and the live stock on board were landed, they were viewed with equal astonishment. While an immense crowd of persons were assembled around them on the beach, one of the cows became unmanageable and rushed in among them, which so terrified the whole multitude that they immediately fled in all directions. The cow, however, having been caught and secured, they again collected, and were now

* Keate's Pellew Islands, 4to. p. 275.

† Nicholas's Voyage to New Zealand, i. 85.

witnesses to a greater wonder than they had yet seen. The reader will recollect Tupai Cupa's amazement when he first observed a man on horseback in the streets of Liverpool. Not having seen the person mount, he naturally enough took him for a part of the quadruped. In the same way his countrymen, when they first saw a horse and rider in New Zealand, felt as those in all probability did in ancient times with whom the fable of the centaurs originated; or as the Peruvians, when they first looked upon their Spanish conquerors, coming against them, in the splendid terrors of European warfare, to charge "with all their chivalry." On this occasion, although Mr. Marsden got on the animal's back before their faces, their astonishment was unbounded when they beheld the rider fairly mounted on his steed, and afterwards galloping up and down the beach. Duaterra had before this given them some account of a horse; but having, for want of a better word, described it by the term *coraddee*, their name for the small native dog of the country, he had only excited their ridicule when he told them of its carrying the white men on its back. Some put their fingers in their ears, and begged he would let them hear no more of his lies; while others, in a more philosophical spirit, as they probably imagined, set about bestriding their pigs, that they might ascertain whether or not the thing was really practicable. The result of the experiment, however, soon made these as sceptical as the others. It was therefore, it may be imagined, no small triumph to Duaterra now to point to Mr. Marsden's equestrian performance*. We may here remark, by the way, that the New Zealanders, although they had no horses, appear not to have been altogether unacquainted with land-carriages before the arrival of the Europeans in their country. Crozet

* Nicholas's Voyage, i. 173.

was told that the chiefs of some of the interior districts were wont to be conveyed from one place to another in litters or palanquins, borne on the shoulders of their slaves*; and Mr. Nicholas, who does not appear to have seen Crozet's account, mentions the same thing.

A watch, to persons without a notion of machinery, must be a fund of wonder and perplexity. Mr. Berry, in his account of the destruction of the Boyd, states that the first watch seen by the people of Wangaroa was one belonging to a Captain Ceronci, the master of a vessel employed in taking seals, who put in to that harbour in the year 1808. They could form no other conception of it, of course, than that it was alive; and so mysterious did it seem to them, that they speedily agreed among themselves it could be nothing less than an *Atua* or God. At last one day, when its owner was shewing it to some of them, it fell into the sea. This circumstance inspired the whole inhabitants of the place with the greatest terror; and, when Ceronci set sail a few days after, they had no doubt he had left his demon behind him to plague them. Shortly after this a violent epidemic carried off their chiefs, and great numbers of the tribe; and this calamity they unanimously attributed to the white man's Atua. Within less than a year after this, Captain Ceronci again arrived at New Zealand, a passenger on board the City of Edinburgh, which put in at the Bay of Islands, and lay there for three months. This was about half a year before the catastrophe of the Boyd. On leaving the country on this second occasion, Ceronci again, by a singular fatality, dropt a watch overboard. On this one of the chiefs, who stood near him, wrung his hands, and, uttering a shriek of distress, exclaimed that Ceronci would be

* Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud, p. 91.

the destruction of the Bay of Islands, as he had already been of Wangaroa. Mr. Berry seems to be of opinion that these two unfortunate accidents had a considerable share in stirring up the people of Wangaroa to the act of terrible revenge which they so soon after perpetrated*.

Mr. Nicholas, in one of his excursions a short way into the interior, came to a village, some of the inhabitants of which had never seen a watch. In like manner they, immediately on hearing it ticking, concluded it to be a God, and regarded it accordingly with the profoundest reverence. The most curious and graphic description, however, that has been given of the surprise manifested by savages on first seeing this wonderful contrivance, is contained in Mr. Mariner's account of the Tonga Islands. We shall transcribe the passage, upon the principle which we have pursued of giving as many illustrations of our subject as are naturally presented in the history of other savages. The reader may compare the story of Mr. Mariner's watch with Swift's narrative, in Gulliver's Travels, of the speculations of the Lilliputian politicians on the time-piece which they found in the pocket of the Man-Mountain.

"One morning, during Finow's stay at this island, some of the natives brought to Mr. Mariner his watch, which they had procured from out of his chest, and with looks of curiosity inquired what it was. He took it from them, wound it up, put it to the ear of one of them, and returned it: every hand was now out-stretched with eagerness to take hold of it; it was applied in turns to their ears; they were astonished at the noise it made; they listened again to it; turned it on every side, and exclaimed, 'mo-ooi' (it is alive!) they then pinched and hit it, as if expecting it would squeak out; they looked at each

* Constable's Miscellany, vol. iv. pp. 330-338.

other with wonder, laughed aloud, snapped their fingers, and made a sort of clucking noise with the tongue (expressing amazement). One brought a sharp stone for Mr. Mariner to force it open with; he opened it in the proper way, and shewed them the works; several endeavoured to seize hold of it at once, and he who got it ran away with it, and all the rest after him. In about an hour they returned with the watch completely broken to pieces. One had the case, another the broken dial, and the wheels and works were distributed among them. They then gave him the fragments, and made signs to him to put it together, and make it do as it did before: upon which he gave them to understand that they had killed it, and that it was impossible to bring it to life again. The man who considered it his property exclaimed *mow-mow* (spoiled!), and made a hissing noise expressive of disappointment: he accused the rest of using violence, and they in return accused him and one another. Whilst they were thus in high dispute there came another native, who had seen and learned the use of a watch on board a French ship; when he understood the cause of their dispute, he called them all *cow valé* (a pack of fools), and explained in the following manner the use of the watch: making a circle in the sand, with sundry marks about its circumference, and turning a stick about the centre of the circle, to represent an index, he informed them that the use of the watch was to tell where the sun was; that when the sun was in the east the watch would point to such a mark, and when the sun was highest it would point here, and when in the west it would point there; and this he said the watch would do, although it was in a house, and could not see the sun; and in the night time, he added, it would tell what portion of a day's length it would be before the sun would rise again. It would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of

their astonishment; one said it was an animal, another said it was a plant; and when this man told them it was manufactured, they all exclaimed *Fonnoua boto!* what an ingenious people! All this Mr. Mariner collected partly by their gestures, and afterwards more fully when he understood their language, and conversed with this man, who always prided himself upon his knowledge of the use of a watch, calling himself Papalangi (an European)."

The power of machinery, whether it be exhibited in the complicated movements of a watch, or the simple operation of a hand-mill, is peculiarly calculated to arrest the attention of a people whose few tools are of the rudest construction. Tippahee, it will be recollected, burst into tears at the sight of a rope-walk; because the process of spinning, although comparatively simple, impressed him with a humiliating sense of the inferiority of his countrymen. Amongst a people to whom the weaving of a fine mat, in their rude loom of pegs stuck into the earth, is a work of several years, such processes must be full of the deepest interest. Even with nations much more advanced, such as many of the islanders of the Indian Archipelago, the simplest wheel which they use in spinning is distinguished by a name which is at the same time the common term for machinery, as if the mechanic arts could go no farther*. The exclusive employment of women in weaving is a proof of the little estimation in which such pursuits are held. And yet, when the benefits of machinery are made obvious to their understandings, even the New Zealanders are not slow to comprehend the advantage they may derive from such inventions. Duaterra valued a small hand-mill for grinding corn as the best of his possessions. Tupai examined carefully the flour-mills of Liverpool, and could

* Crawfurd, i. 177.

understand how the great water-wheel was the moving power of the whole erection. His mind, however, naturally shrunk from an attempt to investigate the more complex machines which he had an opportunity of examining;—and, probably, he did not perceive the immeasurable distance between the common wind-mill, or water-mill, and the applications of the steam-engine. Where every thing is new and wonderful, there must necessarily be a very limited sense of the degrees in which objects are curious. Such a discrimination is the result of knowledge and experience. Lee Boo was taken to see a balloon;—but it produced no greater interest in his mind than the sight of a coach. How should it? A New Zealander, as we have seen so often, has a proper regard to his own personal interest in viewing the wonders of civilization. He is not an idle traveller;—he has to learn something that may be useful, and he applies himself to what he can render of practical utility to himself and his tribe. Moyhanger was indifferent to the elaborate splendour of Lord Fitzwilliam's mansion; but he leaped for joy at the stores of old iron in the neighbourhood of Wapping; and he did not forget to observe, that the people of London had water carried to their own houses, without personal trouble, by the aid of machinery. This man had not even a pump or a well at home;—and he knew what it was to fetch water from the distant river, or to endure all the miseries of prolonged thirst. He doubtless had suffered, too, the severest penalties of hunger, in his own country, where the people were only beginning to study the arts of tillage; his astonishment, therefore, was great, as well it might be, when he beheld the population of London supplied with their daily food, although he could see neither fields nor cattle.

Tooi saw an iron-foundry;—and there he first discovered how man converts the rough ore, which, in truth, is nothing more than the name it bears, iron-stone, into the various implements which administer to his first necessities. He saw the source whence the spade and the musket, the two great objects of his countrymen's desire, were obtained, and his amazement was unbounded: "*Iron run like water*—my countryman no believe, suppose I tell him." There are many amongst us who have reason to blush at the intelligent curiosity of these poor savages;—for we are surrounded with wonders which we take no pains to examine. Whether we look around upon the kingdom of nature or of art, every object is full of instruction. To examine, to inquire, to compare, to think, are not processes that suit an indolent mind;—but they are exertions that every member of a civilized community should tax himself to perform. If he neglects to acquaint himself with the ordinary circumstances that make up his existence; if, whilst the corn is grown, the cattle reared, the fleece woven, the elements subdued, the ocean traversed, for his use, he is ignorant how these and other blessings of civilization are obtained by industry and science, he is morally lower in the scale of intellect than the poor savage, who wonders at a cow, who is in ecstacies when meal is procured from wheat, who breaks a watch to pieces to see the living creature within, and who knows nothing of books. The savage uses his opportunities;—the civilized idler does not comprehend their value. For such persons, if there be any in this age, the following anecdote of a barbarian, as the pride of Europeans has denominated him, may have its use:—It is related of the Inca of Peru, whom Pizarro treacherously murdered, that he was amazingly struck with the power which the Europeans possessed of

communicating ideas by writing. The knowledge of these people was chiefly traditionary; and he at once saw the manifold advantages of establishing a mode of communication and of record, which should enable men to overcome the difficulties of time and space in the interchange of their thoughts. He was anxious to acquire this art; and, that he might make trial of its effects, asked some of the Spanish soldiers to write the name of God upon his thumb-nail. When his merciless jailor, Pizarro, approached him, Athabaliba presented the writing to him, by way of experiment upon his knowledge. The rough soldier could not read:—and the contempt which the Inca expressed for a man, who had possessed the opportunity of acquiring such an important power, and neglected to profit by it, was so undisguised, that the conqueror never forgave him, and soon hurried him to a cruel death.

We have already stated that the New Zealanders have not the art of communicating ideas by writing. They are excellent imitators, as we have seen;—they can make a copy of their own amoco with the utmost ease;—they can execute a fac-simile of European penmanship. This is merely the mechanical part of the art;—and, therefore, the power of conveying thoughts by written language, with the same precision as by speech, is to them, as to most other savages, a matter of extreme surprise. To a certain point, the effect of writing can be made palpable even to the rudest barbarian; nor is it difficult to understand how it should strike the most thoughtless with astonishment. The only notion which the natives of a country, in the same state of barbarism in which the New Zealanders are, can be expected to form, in the first instance, of the way in which a man must proceed in an attempt to intimate anything to another, by marks addressed to the eye, is that he must

endeavour to make his meaning understood in the best way he can, by drawing pictures of the objects to which he wishes to call the other's attention. This, in fact, was in all probability the earliest method of writing; but even when carried to very considerable perfection, as it had been by the Mexicans, it must have been manifestly both a very clumsy and a very imperfect instrument. When the full picture, in the next stage of improvement, was abbreviated into the merely allusive fragment, as in the more ancient species of hieroglyphics, the contrivance was rendered certainly considerably more commodious; —but it remained the same in principle, being still merely a mode of communicating thought, by pictures of the objects referred to. The same remark is applicable to it in the highest state of refinement to which it has been, or is capable of being, carried,— in that, namely, in which we find it employed by the Chinese of the present day. The marks which with them stand for objects and notions, no longer, it is true, exhibit, either in all or in most cases, intelligible pictures, or even fragments of pictures. That resemblance between the sign and the thing signified, which would originally have been detected by the most uninstructed eye, is now almost wholly obliterated; but the connexion between the one and the other is still, notwithstanding, exactly of the same nature as it originally was. It is still an arbitrary, accidental, independent conjunction in each individual case, only that it is now settled by convention; whereas, in the simpler and ruder state of the art, every man's common sense or ingenuity would enable him, without any teaching, to perceive or guess at it*.

* The *quippas*, or lines by which events were recorded amongst the ancient Peruvians, by knots, were something approaching to

Alphabetic probably originated in picture writing; but it is important to observe that we have here altogether a new principle brought into operation. We have now marks, representative, not of things, but of sounds. The vast advantage of this improvement it is impossible to overrate. Things are innumerable—articulate sounds are very few in number. By twenty or thirty marks for the latter, as much may be accomplished in the art of writing as by a separate mark for every individual in the countless multitude of the former. Things (under which term we include, as indeed the etymology of the word in many other languages as well as our own entitles us to do, whatever is an object of thought) had each obtained its appropriated sound long before writing in any form was ever attempted. Of the two classes, therefore, things and names, the inventor of alphabetic writing had merely to fix upon the latter for representation, instead of upon the former, as his predecessors had done. The analysis of articulate sound, however, and the ascertainment of its elements, of course remained to be accomplished before there could have been an alphabet; and this was doubtless a task of no common difficulty. But to investigate the manner in which it would probably be performed, would lead us too far astray from our present object. Suffice it to remark that the discovery was doubtless arrived at by successive steps, and slowly brought to the degree of necessary completeness. It was not indispensable for the invention and employment of an alphabet in any language that its elementary sounds should be determined with perfect scientific precision; nor have they perhaps in any language even yet been so determined.

We have nowhere any precise account of the first

alphabetic writing. For a most curious account of this singular invention, see a recent number of the Westminster Review.

introduction of a New Zealander to the art of writing; but Mr. Mariner, in his work already quoted, has given us a most curious and interesting description of the surprise and perplexity with which the powers of the invention were contemplated for the first time by some of the natives of the Tonga Islands. Mr. Mariner, shortly after the commencement of his captivity among these savages, had, in the hope of thereby obtaining his liberty, written a letter, with a solution of gunpowder, on a piece of paper which he obtained from one of the natives; and he confided it to the care of a chief, with directions that it should be given to the captain of any ship which might appear on the coast. Finow, the king, however, having heard of this transaction, his suspicions were excited, and he immediately sent to the chief for the letter, and obtained it. "When it was put into his hands," the narrative proceeds, "he looked at it on all sides; but not being able to make anything of it, he gave it to Jeremiah Higgins, who was at hand, and ordered him to say what it meant: Mr. Mariner was not present. Higgins took the letter, and translating part of it into the Tonga language, judiciously represented it to be merely a request to any English captain that might arrive to interfere with Finow for the liberty of Mr. Mariner and his countrymen: stating that they had been kindly treated by the natives, but nevertheless wished to return, if possible, to their native country. * * * This mode of communicating sentiments was an inexplicable puzzle to Finow; he took the letter again and examined it, but it afforded him no information. He considered the matter a little within himself; but his thoughts reflected no light upon the subject. At length he sent for Mr. Mariner, and desired him to write down something; the latter asked what he would choose to have written; he replied, put down me; he accordingly wrote

'*Fee-now*' (spelling it according to the strict English orthography); the chief then sent for another Englishman who had not been present, and commanding Mr. Mariner to turn his back and look another away, he gave the man the paper, and desired him to read what that was: he accordingly pronounced aloud the name of the king, upon which Finow snatched the paper from his hand, and, with astonishment, looked at it, turned it round, and examined it in all directions: at length he exclaimed, 'this is neither like myself nor anybody else! where are my legs? how do you know it to be I?' and then, without stopping for any attempt at an explanation, he impatiently ordered Mr. Mariner to write something else, and thus employed him for three or four hours in putting down the names of different persons, places, and things, and making the other man read them. This afforded extraordinary diversion to Finow, and to all the men and women present, particularly as he now and then whispered a little love anecdote, which was strictly written down, and audibly read by the other, not a little to the confusion of one or other of the ladies present; but it was all taken in good humour, for curiosity and astonishment were the prevailing passions. How their names and circumstances could be communicated, through so mysterious a channel, was altogether past their comprehension. Finow at length thought he had got a notion of it, and explained to those about him it was very possible to put down a mark or sign of something that had been seen, both by the writer and reader, and which should be mutually understood by them; but Mr. Mariner immediately informed him, that he could write down anything that he had never seen; the king directly whispered to him to put Toogoo Ahoo (the King of Tonga, whom he and Toobo Nuha had assassinated many years before Mr. Mariner's arrival).

This was accordingly done, and the other read it; when Finow was yet more astonished, and declared it to be the most wonderful thing he had ever heard of. He then desired him to write 'Tarky' (the chief of the garrison of Bea, whom Mr. Mariner and his companions had not yet seen; this chief was blind in one eye). When 'Tarky' was read, Finow inquired whether he was blind or not; this was putting writing to an unfair test! and Mr. Mariner told him that he had only written down the sign standing for the sound of his name, and not for the description of his person. He was then ordered, in a whisper, to write, '*Tarky, blind in his left eye*,' which was done, and read by the other man, to the increased astonishment of every body. Mr. Mariner then told him, that in several parts of the world messages were sent to great distances through the same medium, and, being folded and fastened up, the bearer could know nothing of the contents; and that the histories of whole nations were thus handed down to posterity, without spoiling by being kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow acknowledged this to be a most noble invention, but added that it would not do at all for the Tonga islands; that there would be nothing but disturbances and conspiracies, and he should not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month."

The few scattered notices, which we have thus collected, of the aspects under which the arts of civilization are presented to the savage, might be easily extended;—but we have given enough to direct the current of thought to this very interesting subject. The objects which strike the savage are upon the surface. He is astonished at the art of writing;—but he knows nothing of the vast treasures which have been laid up for mankind, by the power of perpetuating the thoughts of the wisest and the

noblest of the human race. He wonders at a horse and a carriage;—but he does not perceive the extent of our communication, not only with the most unpeopled districts of our own country, but with every civilized nation of the earth. He gazes with delight upon a simple wheel;—but he understands little of the astonishing powers of machinery, which have rendered the piece of cloth, which he regards as a robe for princes, accessible to the humblest of the land; and the solitary nail, for which he would barter his best riches, a thing too common amongst us to be picked up by the sweeper of kennels. It is for us to look beyond the surface.

Chapter XVI.

Comparative view of Savage with Civilized Life.—Character of the New Zealanders.

It was, no long time ago, a favourite controversy among philosophic inquirers, (to which we have slightly alluded in the Introduction to this volume,) whether man enjoyed the greater happiness in the civilized or in the savage state. At the period when this question was most keenly agitated, the real circumstances of savage life were very imperfectly known; and such information as did exist upon the subject was not always most familiar to those who shewed the greatest zeal in the discussion. The sources from which their notions were principally taken were rather the dreams of poetry than the accounts of actual observers; and the evidence of facts, indeed, was in general so sparingly appealed to, that the debate was upon the whole much more a contest of eloquence than of argument. In such disputations a mere name or phrase is sometimes a powerful auxiliary to one of the parties; and there can be no doubt that in this case the patrons of savage life were a good deal assisted in imposing both upon others and themselves by the softening expression, 'a state of nature,' or 'the natural state,' by which they generally used to designate their favourite form of society. If this was to be considered as the natural condition of man, it required no great management to represent any deviation from it as unnatural; and this charge,

accordingly, we find to be the burthen of much of the declamation in which it has been attempted to expose the evils of an advanced state of social refinement. Perhaps all that was really meant by those who first applied the epithet natural to savage life, was that such was the primitive condition of the species—and even that much was an assumption. But it soon came to be taken as signifying a great deal more; and was at length rarely used, perhaps, except to convey, and with the effect of conveying, an impression that only in barbarism was man placed so as to enjoy the power of acting in conformity to the demands of his nature, or of growing up either to the highest happiness or the highest perfection of which it had made him capable.

When we come to examine savage life, however, in any of the forms which it has been found actually to assume, we discover it to be something very different from the popular pictures of it. In the first place, almost all savages exist in the social state—that state in which one man is to a certain extent dependent upon another. They do not roam the woods or mountains, as has been often taken for granted, as free as the wild beasts or the winds. The few individuals of our race who have been found in this condition of lawless and solitary liberty, so far from having exhibited human nature in its noblest or happiest form, have uniformly turned out to be samples of its lowest wretchedness—worse than brutified, not in mind merely, but even in outward shape. The fact is, that, whatever the poets may say, men are not at all formed to exist like the brute in the lair. The social state is natural to the human being, both because he has one of his chief enjoyments in intercourse with his fellows—in the sympathies which this excites in him, and in those of which it makes him the object; and because he is so constituted that he really needs the

assistance of others to enable him easily to supply many of the most pressing even of his physical wants. Alone, he is no match for many of the lower animals; in society, be it even of the very rudest form, he can cope successfully with all of them, as well as with the fury of the elements, the obduracy of the earth, and the hostility of his own species. Thus placed, he is the lord of creation; but, a naked rover of the forest, he would, instead of carrying any shew of nobility or sovereignty about with him, be only a miserable fugitive before its other savage tenants, and the most helpless of all living things.

Another vision of the savage state, common in sentimental works, represents it as a scene of universal peacefulness and ease, where life is all innocence and sunshine. Here alone, it is said, is society found to exist in a form deserving of the name. The union which binds man to man is here, according to these writers, a spirit of spontaneous love, which leads each to delight in the brotherhood of his kind, and thus gathers together all the members of the tribe into one affectionate and harmonious family. Where the heart is thus left to its free play, the restraints of government and law are needless and unknown. Here, they say, every man acts as his own feelings dictate, and yet injures no one else; for why should he? The gracious earth supplies abundantly his few and simple wants. All day long he spends his time in happy communion with nature, now bathing in the neighbouring lake, or skimming over the sea in his light canoe, or wandering in sultry noon among shady groves, or at even-tide joining his fellow-villagers in dance and song. The savage, whose enjoyments are thus described, is held to be wiser than the proud and pampered inhabitant of the land where civilization has established her crowded cities, her lordly institutions, her innume-

rable sciences and arts, because he indulges no desires the gratification of which demands either thought, skill, or labour, or which excite him to trespass upon the enjoyments of others in order that he may augment his own.

But this conception of savage life is as much a dream as the former. Many of the evils which it attributes to civilization exist of necessity in every form of society, for their sources lie among the principles of human nature; and civilization, in truth, instead of either creating or augmenting them, operates with incalculable effect in their control and diminution. The notion of property is found, under certain forms, to be as lively and active in savage as in civilized life; but it is only in civilized life that the feeling of the right is combined with anything like a sense of security in its enjoyment. In the savage state the notion of property is, generally speaking, merely a comfortless and uneasy appetite after something of doubtful or impracticable attainment, or an equally restless apprehension of losing what has been actually attained. The absence of law and government, in so far as these restraints are really wanting in the savage state, instead of being the source of many blessings, is more than anything else the curse of that condition of society. For the truth is, that it is only the *protection* of these sanctions of which the people are deprived; of their controlling and oppressive power they generally feel enough. Whatever of independence exists, belongs, in most cases, only to the chiefs; and even they, although the superiors of the great body of the people, and equal among themselves, are often subject to a common head, on whose caprice their property and their lives hang in the same manner in which those of their immediate vassals do on their own.

The bright colours, in truth, in which savage life sometimes presents itself to the imagination, will be found to be chiefly borrowed from the mere physical circumstances of situation and climate. But these would not be destroyed by civilization. The sunny and fertile isle, sequestered in the bosom of the Pacific, would be no less lovely than it is, if it were the abode of literature and the arts. At present, even the bounty of nature, instead of conferring upon its inhabitants a dower of perfect innocence and blessedness, has in some cases only reduced them to a race of nerveless and grovelling voluptuaries.

But it is seldom that a state of barbarism does not exhibit much harsher, if not more revolting features, than those that have just been alluded to. Instead of being a state of universal love and harmony, it is most commonly one of perpetual discord and violence. Whenever savages are possessed of much vigour or activity of spirit, it displays itself in this manner. War becomes the passion and occupation of every man's life; and the land has no rest from confusion and bloodshed. Such a condition of society is evidently as much opposed to the growth or indulgence of a taste for any species of tranquil or reflective enjoyment, as it is to the cultivation of either the elegant or the useful arts.

We shall not weaken the general course of the argument if we acknowledge that savage life has some enjoyments peculiar to itself. It is, often at least, a life of much less toil and anxiety than that of the great body of the inhabitants of civilized countries. And whether this comparative freedom from care which the savage enjoys be the consequence of the really easier circumstances in which he is placed, or only a relief which he owes to his habitual thoughtlessness and improvidence, it is equally, while it lasts, an element of happiness—of such

happiness, at least, as the lower animals may be said to possess in a greater degree than man himself, who is apt to be disturbed by many apprehensions by which they are never alarmed. Another of the charms of savage life, and one which may be more correctly described as a source of positive enjoyment, is its adventurous character, so unlike the usually quiet and unvaried tenor of the labours of the mass of the population in a settled and civilized community. The aversion and scorn with which all savages regard regular industry may serve to shew us how strong a hold this sort of excitement takes of the imagination, and how small a price the greatest toils, privations, and dangers are felt to be for the pleasures of such a life. The hunting natives on the confines of Siberia had a proverbial imprecation, that their enemy might be obliged to live like a Tartar, and have the folly of troubling himself with the charge of cattle. Yet it is obvious that even the more stirring scenes of savage life must be wholly unsatisfying to a mind animated with anything like a steady and healthy love of exertion and enterprise. Such a life calls none of the higher intellectual powers into action; and even the most brilliant displays of energy and activity, to which it gives occasion, are made for no object at all, or for one that is altogether paltry and inadequate.

We shall perhaps, indeed, arrive at the truest and most comprehensive estimate of the condition and character of the savage by considering him as a child in intellect, and, at the same time, in physical powers and passions a man. A being so constituted is obviously in both an unnatural and an unfortunate state. The two parts of which he is made up—his spiritual and his sensual organization—are not suited to work harmoniously together. The one cannot

act as a governing power over the other. On the one hand, we have the whole host of the passions in the maturity of their strength, and wielding their most formidable weapons; on the other, where there should be authority to command this turbulent array, there are only the ignorance, the improvidence, the frivolity, the fickleness, the irresolution, and all that constitutes the weakness and inefficiency of childhood. There may be no want of capacity; but, remaining as it does untaught, it grows up to nothing beyond a habit of narrow and insidious cunning, which, if it must be accounted in its degree an intellectual accomplishment, indicates at least the very reverse of anything like a moral advancement. Some tribes of savages, of course, answer more, and others less exactly, to this description. In some the boyhood of the intellect is less, in others more advanced. But its immaturity, as contrasted with that of the natives of a civilized country, is sufficiently remarkable in all. Take an individual, belonging even to any one of those races which have generally displayed both the greatest virtues and the highest intellectual powers. Of all savage nations, perhaps those found in North America are best entitled to this distinction. Many of these barbarians are brave, enterprising, despisers of fatigue and torture, capable upon occasion of extraordinary efforts of self-control, ingenious and skilful in the few arts which they practise, eloquent after the fashion of savage oratory, sagacious in their political contrivances and arrangements, courteous and hospitable to strangers, just in their dealings with each other. All this they are made by the necessity of the circumstances in which they are placed; by their military habits, by their fixed social institutions and customs, and by those few simple rules and maxims of traditionary wisdom or prejudice, which they learn to ac-

quiesce in and to act upon as instincts. But the mind of even the ablest warrior or gravest sage among them is still, in many respects, merely that of a child. All his notions are simply articles of faith, which he has taken upon trust. None of them, accordingly, have the comprehensiveness of principles. His very virtues serve him only for the particular time and place in which he has been specially taught and accustomed to exhibit them. He does not even make the attempt to practise them on other occasions. Thus, for example, the same individual who, in the ambush, or the stealthy invasion of an unsuspecting enemy, shews a management, circumspection, coolness, and patience, that cannot be surpassed,—or who, if he were brought out to die at the stake, would endure the most agonizing tortures with a stern and unshrinking stoicism that might be esteemed almost superhuman,—is in ordinary circumstances all inconsiderateness, precipitation, and mutability. This latter is his natural character; the other is an artificial display to which he is only rarely wrought by circumstances of peculiar excitement. The grave, steady, and calculating warrior is now a reed to be shaken by every wind—one moment inflamed into passion by the slightest and most unintentional affront or neglect, the next restored as suddenly to smiles and good humour by as trivial a peace-offering. The eloquent old man who was yesterday the sage of the deliberating council, to-day, carried away by an admiration altogether infantine, is ready to exchange the most valuable of his possessions for a string of glass beads. The independence of the tribe, the maintenance of their old customs, revenge on their enemies,—these are the three or four boundary marks of every man's political and moral faith; and no one even thinks of looking beyond them. Hence their unchanging

institutions, and the unprogressive character of their knowledge and their arts. Society is with them merely a game, which, like other games, must be played according to certain conventional rules; and of course it is no business of theirs either to alter these rules, or to trouble themselves by inquiring into the reasons of their original enactment.

All that we know of the condition of the New Zealanders, is calculated to illustrate and confirm these general views of savage life. The character of this people, both moral and intellectual, exhibits, however, a much richer and more interesting variety of peculiarities than that of most other savages. Its very anomalies constitute much of its attraction. They belong, as the reader has by this time had abundant proof, to the class of the energetic, bold, and haughty nations; and both their virtues and their vices wear the same general air and complexion of independence, decision, and fearlessness. It will be useful to recapitulate here the broader features of their character; first, as such a summary will allow us to introduce many points of illustration which have been omitted in the preceding narrative,—and, secondly, as we may, through these general views, arrive at a clearer perception of the probabilities of their ultimate advancement in real knowledge and civilization.

The first and most conspicuous quality in the character of the New Zealanders, is their inordinate passion for war. Of the degree in which they are given over to this unhappy frenzy, no additional illustration can be necessary. Yet many of them are far from being insensible to the miserable effects of their dissentions. Many of the New Zealand wars originate doubtless in the mere ambition and avarice of individuals. The history of Shungie may serve to shew us to what an extent, in such a state

of society, the restlessness and rapacity of a single chief may operate in disturbing the tranquillity of all around him. But Mr. Marsden in his different journeys met with many chiefs who professed to be themselves tired of war, and well disposed to live in peace if their neighbours would allow them. Their fathers and forefathers, however, some of them said on one occasion, had been always fighting men*—and this they seemed to think a sufficient reason why it should never be otherwise with themselves or their descendants. Another time some of the inferior chiefs applied to Mr. Marsden to take Shungie with him to New South Wales, as the most effectual expedient that could be adopted for restoring and preserving the tranquillity of the country†. One of the most zealous advocates for peace was the chief Themorangha, who has been mentioned more than once in the course of our narrative. He lost no opportunity of inculcating his sentiments among his less enlightened countrymen; but he used to say, that nothing but the appointment of a king over the whole country would restrain the everlasting animosities by which it was distracted—adding, that if he himself were invested with that dignity, he would not hesitate a moment in taking any man's head off who presumed to disturb the general quiet ‡.

The wars of these savages are maintained and perpetuated both by their love of contention and bloodshed, and by that spirit of revenge which seems to be more implacable in them than in almost any other people on earth. The law of retaliation in its most rigorous literality is their only rule for reconcilement of differences; and so long as the demands of this inexorable principle remain unsatisfied, the two par-

* Miss. Reg. for 1822, p. 388.
† Proceedings of Church Miss. Soc., for 1820-21, p. 284.
‡ Id. for 1821-22, p. 349.

ties can only know each other as enemies. "When we ask the chiefs," writes one of the missionaries in 1827, "when their wars with each other will terminate, they reply, 'never; because it is the custom of every tribe which loses a man, not to be content without satisfaction; and nothing less than the death of one individual can atone for the death of another'*." Many other barbarous nations continue in a state of war, for no weightier reason. Kolben, in his account of the Cape, tells us that the "Hottentot natives trespass on each other by thefts of cattle and of women; but such injuries are seldom committed, except with a view to exasperate their neighbours, and bring them to a war." The North American Indians, who have neither herds nor settled possessions, are always at war for the point of honour, and with a desire to continue the struggle which their fathers maintained. And in truth many of the wars among civilized nations have originated in no more rational object; and whether the pretext has been to maintain a tottering dynasty, or to keep possession of a useless territory, the real object has been the indulgence of national animosity. The English and French were so long accustomed to consider themselves as natural enemies, that a state of peace even now appears to many a singular and perhaps evil exception to the ordinary rule.

Where injuries of long standing do not exist to give a pretext for their insane and destroying contentions, the pride, sensitiveness, and sudden inflammability of the New Zealanders are extremely apt to create causes of offence in a moment, which may prove the sources of hatred and bloodshed for a century. The most trivial slight, or anything which they imagine to be an insult or failure of respect, fires them to instant indignation. Mr. Nicholas witnessed several amusing

* Twenty-Eighth Report of Church Miss. Soc., p. 118.

exhibitions of this warm and hasty temperament, on his voyage back to New South Wales. The sons and other young relatives of the chiefs who accompanied them were employed during the voyage in attendance upon the gentlemen in the cabin, scrubbing the floors, washing the plates, and other menial offices. But, although the juvenile patricians really liked these occupations, the least hint to any of them that he was employed in a manner unbecoming his station would make him abandon his degrading task in disdain; nor could he be induced to return to it till assured that it was not unsuitable to a gentleman. Even the chief Tupee, on one occasion, although a member of the priesthood, having been refused some sugar which he had asked for, poured out a torrent of maledictions on the person to whom he had addressed his request, and immediately retired to his bed, where he remained growling till Mr. Marsden himself was obliged to go to him with the sugar; this immediately restored him to good humour. The younger Forster, in his account of Cook's second voyage, relates an anecdote strikingly illustrative both of the New Zealander's quickness in taking offence, and of his equally instantaneous forgetfulness of what he had felt, whenever he discovers that no insult was really intended. On putting off one day from a port on the north coast of Cook's Strait, where they had gone on shore only for a few minutes, one of the sailors informed Captain Cook that he had purchased some fish from a native for which he had not had time to pay him. On this Cook took the last nail they had left and threw it to the New Zealander who was standing on the beach. Probably conceiving that there had been an intention of hitting him, the infuriated savage instantly took up a stone, and hurled it at the boat. It struck nobody; and Cook, with very commendable forbearance, merely pointed out to

their assailant the nail which lay at his feet; and as soon as he saw the valuable article that had been given to him, he was the first to laugh at his own petulance*. This little incident, as the narrator remarks, might have led to serious consequences if Cook had not shewn the prudence he did. If the conduct of the New Zealander had been met by a precipitation equal to his own, a general quarrel might have ensued between the boat's crew and the natives, in the growing violence and confusion of which the mistake in which it originated would very soon have been obscured beyond all chance of explanation. But how often, among these impatient and irascible savages themselves, must it happen that a case no weighter than this shall give rise to mutual exasperation, which many bloody conflicts may not heal! How often, indeed, to our disgrace, do such things happen among the members of civilized communities. The passionate revenge of the poor barbarian has an excuse, in his ignorance of a higher rule of conduct, which the Christian cannot plead.

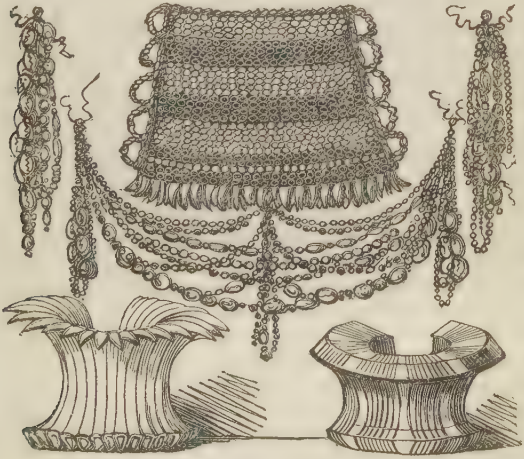
We have already remarked how lax their notions are upon the subject of thieving, if not from their friends, at least from all who happen to have no particular claim upon their hospitality or forbearance. The natural love of property appears to be by no means extinguished or weakened among them by the extreme insecurity of the right; and many of them manifest a covetousness and passion for accumulation as intense as anything known in the most artificial condition of society. We have already given some account of Pomaree, whose ruling appetite seems to have been the desire of gain. Old Bennee, Korro-korro's uncle, shewed the same disposition quite as strongly, if not exactly the same talent. Mr. Nicholas relates, that he never approached Mr. Marsden or himself without instantly raising the cry

* E. Forster's Voyage round the World, vol. ii.

of "give it the wow," (nail); "give it the matow," (fish-hook); "give it the tokee," (piece of iron); and so much had it become his habit to vociferate this sort of address, that, even after his importunity had obtained for him what he wanted, he would continue calling out the words the same as before. The wealth of their white visitors is a temptation, indeed, which seldom fails to excite all the cupidity of these barbarians. But the discernment which they exhibit in this particular is very remarkable, as contrasted with the simplicity of many other savage tribes, who in general, like mere children, look only to the shew and glitter of what is offered them, and will often prefer the most worthless bauble to an article of real utility. From the earliest period of their intercourse with Europeans, the New Zealanders have shewn that they perfectly understood the difference in value between a tool and a trinket. Even when Cook's vessel first appeared on their coasts, we read of no bargains that he made with them by means of painted beads. Cloth seems to have been at first the only article which they would traffic for. The first time a spike nail was given to one of them, he seemed, we are told, to set no value upon it. This happened on the east coast, a little to the south of Poverty Bay. But by the time the English vessel had circumnavigated the two islands, the natives had begun to understand something of the use of iron; and in Queen Charlotte's Sound fish were readily sold for nails. On his subsequent visits Cook found iron almost the only article in request; and of late years, as has been already stated, agricultural and other tools of that metal, muskets, and ammunition, will alone purchase provisions for the ships that put in at the country.

Yet, although thus fully aware of what it is they have the greatest need of, it is not to be supposed that they are altogether indifferent to ornament and finery, for which indeed no people are without

some taste that are not in the very lowest state of wretchedness and degradation. The New Zealand chieftain decorates his head with plumes; and is doubtless proud of the graceful distinction, both as a token of his rank and as adding elegance and majesty to his figure. His dress mantle is also elaborately embroidered; and both sexes often wear curiously carved combs in their hair, and clusters of ornaments suspended from their ears and round their necks. The men indeed, as well as the women, are



Bracelets, Necklaces, &c.

fond of dress; and shew all the vanity of children when they are more gaily arrayed than usual. To a chief, Mr. Nicholas relates, who came on board the Active while she was passing the North Cape on her way to the Bay of Islands, Mr. Marsden presented a piece of India print, which quite transported him with delight he gazed on the figures with the most vivid amazement, and throwing it over his shoulders, strutted

about the deck with his whole soul absorbed in his splendid bedizenment. On a subsequent occasion, Mr. Nicholas being on shore, and engaged in making some purchases from the natives, was assailed by an old man, who offered him a large mat for his coat. The proposed exchange having been agreed to, was immediately made; and our author, having wrapped himself up in the New Zealand garment, the other put on the coat. No sooner had he got it adjusted on his person than the whole being of the savage seemed to have undergone a change; instead of a figure bent with age, and a grave and circumspect demeanour, he now exhibited the erect port of a man in the spring of life, and at the same time a sprightliness and affected ease and frivolity of manner which were meant to be quite captivating, and were certainly indescribably ludicrous. His countrymen were at first so much amazed at his sudden metamorphosis that they seemed to doubt his identity; but they soon felt the full absurdity of the spectacle he exhibited, and greeted him with peals of laughter. Mr. Marsden, too, in the journal of his second visit, mentions that he was much importuned by his friend Moodeewhy, one of the Shukehanga chiefs, for a red flannel shirt, a night-cap, and a pair of spectacles. He observed, that if he could only get these articles he should be a great man. Even the ferocious Shungie was not altogether above this sort of taste. One of the Missionaries mentions that, on his return from England, he stated it as one of his grievances that he had not a piece of scarlet cloth, such as other chiefs were possessed of. "I gave him a piece to-day," adds the writer; "which seemed for the time to set his mind at rest; he put it over his shoulders, and strutted about with the consequence of a Roman Emperor." Even amongst themselves the chiefs have badges of honour and personal decoration.

The courage of the New Zealanders, though, in

a fair field, of the most fearless description, and implying extraordinary indifference to danger and death, is nevertheless mixed up with a spirit of bravado, which may seem to our notions nearly as inconsistent an accompaniment of that quality, as the ferocity and cruelty by which, among this people, its lustre is also so considerably impaired. But we must not expect from savages the refinement, either in this or any other feeling, which can only be taught by a long habit of subduing natural emotions and of withholding their expression, by reflection, and out of deference to the customs and sentiments of a polished state of society. In the New Zealand warrior the hatred or contempt for his enemy, of which his heart is full, speaks out in every word, tone, and gesture. He defies him to the combat with every contortion of limb and countenance that he can think of most significant of mockery and insult; and after he has vanquished and slain him he vents the residue of his rage and scorn in a profusion of indignities on his dead body. His notion of strength and courage expresses itself with the same coarse frankness on every occasion. If he deems himself to be more powerful or more valorous than another man, he is very likely to insult him for the mere sake of displaying his superiority. Even Duaterra, after he returned from his travels to New South Wales and England, enriched with the presents he had received from his friends, and with no contemptible acquaintance with the manners, and some of the most important arts, of civilization, would insist, during his navigation along the East coast of the island with Mr. Nicholas and Mr. Marsden, upon alarming every canoe that came up to the ship with the most terrific shew of hostility. He concealed himself and his people by lying down on the deck till the unsuspecting visitors were alongside, when on a signal they would suddenly jump up, brandish their

arms, and uttering the most horrid yells rush forward as if with an intention of indiscriminate massacre. On one occasion an old chief who was coming on board was so struck with this unexpected demonstration, that, letting go his hold of the ship's side, he fell into his canoe, and nearly upset it *. Mr. Ellis, who spent some days at the Bay of Islands in the end of the year 1816, notices in his Polynesian Researches, among other traits of native character which he remarked, this disposition to terrify by way of joke. "The warriors of New Zealand," says he, "delight in swaggering and bravado; and while my companion was talking with some of Korro-korro's party, one of them came up to me, and several times brandished his patoo-patoo over my head, as if intending to strike, accompanying the action with the fiercest expressions of countenance, and the utterance of words exceedingly harsh, though to me unintelligible. After a few minutes, he desisted, but when we walked away, he ran after us, and assuming the same attitude and gestures, accompanied us till we reached another circle, where he continued for a short time these exhibitions of his skill in terrifying. When he ceased, he inquired rather significantly, if I was not afraid. I told him I was unconscious of having offended him, and that, notwithstanding his actions, I did not think he intended to injure me. The New Zealanders are fond of endeavouring to alarm strangers, and appear to derive much satisfaction in witnessing the indications of fear they are able to excite."

In the very clever drawings which illustrate a copy of Cook's Voyages, now in the British Museum, and which belonged to Sir Joseph Banks, is a forcible representation of the people of a canoe all engaged in these extravagances of contemptuous defiance.

* Nicholas's Voyage to New Zealand, i. 387.

Nothing indeed can be more natural and appropriate than this braggart spirit, among a people with whom fighting is so universal an occupation; and as they have a keen sense of the ludicrous, they are enabled to mingle the bitterness of contempt with the fierceness of defiance. They possess a remarkable talent for mimicry. When Mr. Savage brought Moyhanger to St. Helena, he could scarcely be restrained from ridiculing the person or attire of any individual he met who struck him as at all odd, the dress of the soldiers especially tempting him to the exercise of this propensity; and after he came to reside in London one of his chief amusements was to sit at the window and laugh at the faces and gait of the people passing. The chiefs and their relations, too, who returned home with Captain Cruise in the Dromedary, used to consider it the best sport imaginable to walk about on the deck, imitating and turning into ridicule the manners and attitudes of their different English acquaintances. This is no doubt a low description of wit, and exceedingly suitable, it may be said, for savages; but it indicates at least a sensibility to the grotesque, and, by consequence, certain established and universally understood notions of propriety and fitness.

Chapter XVII.

Summary of the General Character of the New Zealanders, continued.

Unacquainted as the New Zealanders are with anything deserving the name of science, and insignificant as is the progress they have made in the arts, their intellectual powers are evidently of a superior order. Such of them as have come in contact with European civilization have in general manifested extraordinary quickness and tact in catching its spirit, and adapting themselves to the new opinions and manners to which they were introduced. And all that we are told of them shews acuteness, reflection, readiness, fertility of resources, and the other faculties and habits of mind that go to make up a commanding intellectual organization. As Duaterra remarked to Mr. Nicholas upon one occasion, "New Zealand man no fool." In the few arts which are known among them, as we have already seen, they display exceeding neat-handedness and ingenuity, and even no contemptible portion of taste and elegance. Nor are they without a genius for the higher exercises of the imagination. Their music is spoken of as superior to that of many of the other South Sea islands; they possess a body of national poetry, which is constantly receiving additions as new events awaken the fancy of their bards; and eloquence in the council is as indispensable a qualification of their chiefs and warriors as valour in the field. Among all orders of the people much time is spent in conversation, in which they discuss the general concerns of the tribe, taking, as might be expected, especial interest in whatever relates to their chief and his family. But other topics also

obtain their eager attention, whenever they enjoy the rare opportunity of acquiring any information respecting what lies beyond the very bounded sphere of their own experience and traditionary knowledge. Mr. Marsden, who, during his several journies through the interior of the country, saw more of their domestic habits than any one else who has attempted to give us a picture of New Zealand society, found them every where both ready and anxious to listen to him, when he addressed them even on what may be called scientific subjects, and most intelligent in the questions they asked him, and the remarks they made. After the work of the day was over, they used to crowd around him in the evenings to hear him dispense to them the wisdom of Europe; and not only agriculture and navigation, but the general principles of geography and astronomy were often the matter of his discourse, which would sometimes run far into the night before his auditors were weary, or thought of repose. Nor was it found by any means impossible or difficult to convince them of the folly of some of their prejudices, when the reason of the thing admitted of being plainly stated to them. In his visit to Tiami, for example, Mr. Marsden had a great deal of conversation with the chiefs, and took an opportunity of arguing with them about several of the native customs and superstitions. Among other things, "they said," writes the reverend gentleman, "that some time ago one of their tribe went on board a ship, where he ate some provisions, contrary to their customs; when their god, in his anger, slew a great many of them. I inquired in what manner those that died were affected. They represented their tongues to be foul, and their whole bodies in a burning heat. The natives, supposing the heat which they experienced to proceed from a secret fire within them, threw off all their mats, drank and

bathed in cold water, and exposed themselves, as much as they could, to the cold; under the idea that cold would quench the heat which they felt. We informed them that this was the way to increase the heat, and to kill them; and that, instead of exposing themselves to the cold, they should have kept themselves warm, in order to make them perspire; as the perspiration would carry off the burning heat from the body, and not cold air and water. They laughed at this idea, and supposed that this would increase their complaint. I then asked them if they remembered at any time, when they perspired freely, feeling that burning heat in their bodies which they mentioned; after some reflection and consultation together, they thought, from what they felt when they perspired freely, that we might be right in our opinion." They afterwards asked Mr. Marsden to explain to them, upon his principles, how Duaterra came to die—an event which they themselves had never thought of attributing to any other cause than the vengeance of the Atua, which, having got within him, had devoured his entrails; and on a true account of the disease which had carried him off being given to them, they appeared to be convinced that it was really more reasonable than their own notion.

They are much less disposed, however, than most other uncivilized tribes, and the fact is greatly to the credit of their thinking powers, to receive any opinion merely upon the assertion even of a white man. Upon all subjects they question and cross-question those who attempt to instruct them, until they are satisfied with the explanation given. Naturally suspicious, a consequence partly of the inquisitive and penetrating character of their understandings, and much accustomed themselves to conceal the object they actually have in view, and to proceed to it by an indirect course, they generally

endeavour very anxiously, when they meet with a stranger, to ascertain the motives of any conduct they see him pursue. They must have a reason for every thing. When Mr. Marsden went to see the Shukehanga people, the first inquiry they made was what was the object of his visit. And when he afterwards began to converse with them about the geography of their country, and other topics on which he desired information, they maintained the same guarded manner. If a question was asked, they generally took care, before answering it, to inquire for what reason it was put. Any inquiry, for example, about the distance of a particular place in the island, was sure to be met in the first instance by the counter-interrogation, What do you want to know for? or, Are you going there?

Many of the New Zealanders are well acquainted with the geography of their own country. Notwithstanding the want of roads, they are accustomed to traverse the islands in all directions. Among the Indians of America it is incumbent upon the individual who aspires to the dignity of a chief or captain, to give proof, among his other accomplishments, of being well versed in this species of knowledge*. This acquirement, it is easy to understand, must be of the first importance to him whose duty it is to act as leader of his countrymen through the trackless woods of America, both in their warlike expeditions, and in those migrations from one station to another which they are in the constant habit of making merely to procure food. It is probable that most of the New Zealand chiefs, in like manner, make a study of the topography of their native island. Toogee, it will be recollected, drew a map of it for Governor King; Korro-korro another for Mr. Nicholas; and Tupai Cupa pointed out the limits of his own territories to Dr. Traill. These performances,

* Lafitau, ii. 21.

although, of course, far from being perfectly accurate, exhibited the general form of the country with considerable truth, and professed also to indicate its principal rivers, mountains, and political divisions. Like other rude nations, who spend much of their time in the open air, the New Zealanders have an experimental acquaintance with the phenomena of external nature, which serves them in place of science, and in certain cases, indeed, enables them to judge as certainly, and much more quickly, than science could do. Thus, by a glance at the position of the sun during the day, or of the stars at night, they can at any season of the year tell the points with the accuracy of a compass; and, in looking for distant and obscure objects, they will often make the discovery with the naked eye before a European could with the aid of a good glass*. Their sight, indeed, is singularly acute; and is seldom affected even by that soreness and inflammation of the eyes which is common among them, owing probably to the freedom with which they expose their heads to the cold. When the officers of the Dromedary went to shoot in the woods, they had great difficulty in finding the pigeons, from the thickness of the foliage in which they concealed themselves; but their native attendants pointed them out with the greatest facility. This quickness of sight is common to most savages, and is probably an effect of hereditary habit. It is said that some Indians possessed it to such a degree, that they could ward off the coming arrow with their own bow†. The New Zealanders, by the accuracy of their observations, predict the changes of the weather with extraordinary skill. One evening, when Captain Cruise and some of his friends were returning from a long excursion up one of the rivers, although the sky was at the time without a cloud, a

* Cruise's Journal, p. 11.

† See notes to Southey's "Tale of Paraguay."

native, who sat in the boat with them, remarked that there would be heavy rain the next day; a prediction which they were more inclined to believe by finding, when they returned on board the ship, that the barometer had fallen very much, and which the deluge of the following morning completely confirmed. We do not find any instance recorded amongst them of that acute smell which distinguishes the North American savages, and which is generally accompanied by an extraordinary largeness of the nasal organ*. The reason of this may be that the New Zealanders have no wild beasts to hunt, so that the faculty has not been developed in any peculiar manner, as amongst tribes who maintain themselves wholly by the chase.

Several of the most conspicuous deformities of the New Zealand character originate in the abuse and perversion of intellectual powers, which, properly trained, would carry them forward rapidly in the career of social improvement and happiness. They are not a people sunk in sloth, and abandoned to an enervating luxury, as has been found to be the condition of some savage tribes. On the contrary, although, as we have seen, full of sensibility and warmth of heart, their chief enjoyment is in activity and enterprise—in the toils, the dangers, and the other coarse but stirring excitements of war. From this active, restless, and ardent constitution of mind, however, spring many of their vices, as well as their virtues—not only their hardihood, and exemption from effeminacy, but their turbulence, their ferocity, their love of blood, and whatever else is in the popular sense of the word most *savage* in their disposition and manners. With less intellectual acuteness and energy, they would be in many respects less revoltingly barbarous. Their cunning, also, would be less refined and insidious; and they would not be

* Blumenbach's Physiology, translated by Elliotson.

so much given to suspicion, jealousy, dissimulation, lying, and calumny. All these faults indicate the deficiency not so much of intellect as of moral principle; or, rather, they are the fruits of intellectual powers allowed to grow up wild, and without their natural and requisite nourishment. They are such as are not unfrequently seen in clever children, whose training has been little attended to. Even the most respectable of the chiefs are often not to be trusted on their most solemn affirmation; and in speaking of each other, in particular, they are accustomed to indulge in the wildest excesses of falsehood and slander. Yet the very individuals who deal thus freely in mutual invectives and misrepresentations behind each other's backs, are, face to face, apparently the best friends imaginable. On one occasion, Tupee and Korro-korro having met on the deck of the Active, the former touched noses with the latter with the greatest shew of cordiality, and nothing could seemingly be more sincere than the pleasure he professed at seeing his dear friend. But no sooner had Korro-korro taken his departure, than his brother chief began to traduce him with the most immoderate virulence, painting his whole character in the blackest colours, and relating every story he could think of or invent to his discredit*. Some moralists would have us believe that such hypocrisy and duplicity as this belong only to the corruptions of a highly advanced state of society; but it will be found that, in refinements of such easy attainment, savage life abounds as much as civilization.

We have already recorded several examples of the profound deceit with which the New Zealanders manage their plots for the destruction of an enemy. On other occasions they shew the same slyness and subtlety, accompanied sometimes with an archness and easy impudence almost without parallel in the

* Nicholas's Voyage.

various modifications of the civilized character. Of this we may quote an instance which fell under Cook's observation one day when he was purchasing some fish from the natives in Queen Charlotte's Sound. "When we were upon this traffic," says he, "they shewed a great inclination to pick my pockets, and to take away the fish with one hand, which they had just given me with the other. This evil one of the chiefs undertook to remove; and, with fury in his eyes, made a shew of keeping the people at a proper distance. I applauded his conduct, but, at the same time kept so good a look-out, as to detect him picking my pocket of a handkerchief; which I suffered him to put in his bosom before I seemed to know anything of the matter, and then told him what I had lost. He seemed quite ignorant and innocent till I took it from him; and then he put it off with a laugh, acting his part with so much address, that it was hardly possible for me to be angry with him; so that we remained good friends, and he accompanied me on board to dinner*."

On the other hand, the New Zealanders owe to this quickness, penetration, and flexibility of mind, some of their best and most promising qualities. Instead of the stupid indifference which many other rude nations shew, in regard to matters in which they have not been accustomed to take an interest, curiosity is one of the strongest passions of the people. We have seen what toils and endurances of every description many of them have undergone in order to view with their own eyes those wonders of distant lands, of which they had merely heard in the relations of others. No greater zeal, at least, and spirit of enterprise have been displayed by the travellers and voyagers of the most enlightened nations. Cook seems to have been at first somewhat at a loss what opinion to form as to this part of the character

* Second Voyage.

of the New Zealanders, some of whom seemed to take the liveliest interest in the novelties which were shewn to them, while others looked on with apparently the greatest apathy, or hardly took the trouble of looking at all. He mentions, in particular, a man whom they found alone in a canoe fishing, when they made their appearance for the first time in the strait between the two islands, and who, when they rowed up to him, much to their astonishment took not the least notice of their approach, continuing to follow his occupation, even when they were alongside of him, without turning an eye to them any more than if they had been invisible. But this, there can be little doubt, was merely an artful attempt to act an indifference which was not felt. The shew of apathy was too obstinately maintained to be the effect of anything else than design. In general, the New Zealanders crowd around whatever is strange to them, with the liveliest wonder, and the greatest avidity to learn its use or nature.

In pursuing our review of the state of society in New Zealand, and the peculiarities of the national character, it is necessary to notice shortly the station which the women occupy, and the manner in which they are treated. We have already had occasion to introduce some of the females of highest rank as at one time engaged in the labours of agriculture, and at another distinguishing themselves in warlike exercises, or accompanying their husbands to the field of battle, to fight by their sides. Shungie's blind queen, it may be remembered, used to figure occasionally in all these capacities. It would appear, however, from what Rutherford states, that the women who follow a military expedition are not in general expected to take an active part in the combat; but attend only for the purpose of helping their husbands to their arms, acting as their nurses if they should be wounded, and

receiving and taking charge of the heads they cut off. But although the duty of fighting is discharged principally by the men, the women take at least their share in most of the other descriptions of labour. The cultivation of the fields, especially, and the gathering in of the produce, seem to be principally their occupations. They also paddle the canoes occasionally as well as the men, and assist in curing the fish for the general stock; and they are the chief operators in dressing and spinning the flax, and in the manufacture of mats.

Yet, with the exception, perhaps, of the chiefs and professed warriors, who would probably disdain to engage in any meaner occupation than that of arms, it does not appear that the men are in the habit, as in some barbarous countries, of devolving the common toils of life exclusively upon the women. The latter seem to be far removed, for example, from that state of subjection and wretchedness which is described as their lot among many of the African, and even among some of the American savages. In most of their labours the men take at least some share, although perhaps not quite an equal one. Of one important duty, however, the husband relieves the wife almost completely—namely, of the care of the children. As soon as the infant is weaned, it is taught to twine its arms round its father's neck; and so completely does it in a short time acquire the habit of trusting to this support, that, asleep or awake, it remains the whole day thus suspended, protected from the weather by the same mat which covers its parent; and in his longest journeys as well as his most laborious occupations, it is his constant companion *.

The circumstance, however, which most affects the condition of the women in New Zealand is the prevalence of the custom of polygamy. Almost all the chiefs have more than one wife, most of them

* Cruise's Journal, p. 291.

six or eight; of these there is always one who is accounted the head wife. To this arrangement the weaker sex are said to submit in general quietly enough; but its inconveniences are not unfelt either by them or their husbands. Some of the chiefs admitted to Mr. Marsden that they should have a much quieter house with only one wife; when there were more, they remarked, the women always quarrelled. Debates upon this sometimes took place when the women were present; and they generally seemed to be of opinion that a man should have no more than one wife. When there are a plurality, indeed, their mutual jealousies sometimes rise to a great height. A chief named Riva is mentioned, who for many years had only one wife; but at last he returned from an expedition with another. This event so greatly distressed and enraged the first, that, when, some time after, her rival was delivered of a son, in her vexation and fury she murdered a child of her own which was only a few weeks old. Infanticide, we may remark, is asserted to be of common occurrence in New Zealand. In such a state of society, male is of course much more desired than female offspring; and when a girl is born it is not unfrequently destroyed by the mother, who extinguishes its life by pressing her finger upon the soft part between the joinings of the skull *. Even when the rivalship of the women does not produce the same tragical consequences as it did in Riva's household, the presence of the younger, though inferior, wives is often regarded with no favourable eye by the mistress of the family. On visiting Shungie's village one day, Mr. Marsden was received by the three wives of that chief, the principal one of whom was the blind woman who has been already frequently mentioned; and she told him with a smile that Shungie was not so kind in his

* Cruise's Journal, p. 290.

attentions to her as he used to be, since he had brought home the two other ladies.

This system indeed necessarily establishes a tyranny of the stronger sex over the weaker, which, although it may not often shew itself in acts of violence on the part of the one, is sure to keep the other in subjection and degradation. The head wives of the chiefs seem in many cases to enjoy considerable consequence, and women are sometimes chiefs themselves; one in particular is mentioned as queen of a large interior district to the south of the Thames*: but still they are under many restraints from which their husbands are free. Among others they are not permitted to marry again should their husbands die; and if this regulation is disregarded by them, as it sometimes is, they are exposed to many indignities which render life hardly endurable†. They are generally given in marriage, too, without their own consent being even asked, many of them being in fact prisoners of war; and even the head wife, who is generally her husband's equal in rank, is merely delivered over to him by her father.

Yet even in these unfavourable circumstances a warm attachment often grows up between the parties; and the death of one is lamented by the other with passionate sorrow. The wife is not enjoined, as among the Hindoos, to devote herself on the funeral pile of her husband by any doctrine of the national religion, nor it is even expected that she should give such a proof of her affection; yet it is by no means unusual for her on occasion of her husband's death to commit suicide, in order that her spirit may follow his. Duaterra's favourite wife hanged herself soon after that chief expired; and many other instances of the same kind are mentioned.

The moral character of the females, as well as the

* Miss. Reg. for 1817, p. 350.

† Journal of Mr. Marsden's Second Visit, p. 293.

estimation in which they are held, cannot but suffer considerably from the customs of the country, which, in some places at least, tolerate any degree of abandonment and profligacy before marriage. In New Zealand, as in others of the South Sea Islands, it is only after a woman, by being married, becomes an article of property, that she is considered as guilty of any impropriety in acting as licentiously as she chooses. Yet it is said to be surprising how few instances of misconduct occur on the part of the females after marriage, notwithstanding this extraordinary training.

Both parents are in general fondly attached to their children, and treat them with great kindness and indulgence. Of this Mr. Ellis relates an instance which fell under his observation, during the short time he spent at the Bay of Islands in 1816. One of the chiefs with whom he formed an acquaintance was Tetoro, the same person with whom Captain Cruise some years after sailed from Port Jackson, and of whom he gives so favourable an account. Mr. Ellis went one day to Tetoro's residence to request him to accompany himself on a short excursion they proposed making, which the chief immediately agreed to do. "But before we set out," continues the writer, "an incident occurred which greatly raised my estimation of his character. In the front of the hut sat his wife, and around her playing two or three children. In passing from the hut to the boat Tetoro struck one of the little ones with his foot; the child cried, and though the chief had his mat on, and his gun in his hand, and was in the act of stepping into the boat, where we were waiting for him, he no sooner heard its cries then he turned back, took the child up in his arms, stroked its little head, dried its tears, and, giving it to the mother, hastened to join us*." No

* Ellis's Polynesian Researches, i. 26.

civilization could have improved the tenderness or beauty of this conduct. Nature here spoke from the heart of this untutored barbarian.

The children, indeed, are alleged to be in general spoiled and rendered unmanageable by the over-indulgence of the parents; and, doubtless, few of them enjoy the benefit of a very wise corrective discipline. They have also, of course, by right of birth, their share of the audacity and wildness of the intrepid, turbulent, and reckless race to which they belong. No wonder, therefore, that we find them characterized as idle, unsteady, wilful, despising at times even the control of their parents, and, of course, still more difficult to be managed by any one else. But, on the other hand, this comparative freedom from restraint in which they are brought up, among its many evil effects, is not without some advantages. Not only is their whole bearing to an extraordinary degree frank and free from embarrassment; but, in many respects, their intelligence at a very early age surpasses that of the generality of European children. Almost as soon as they leave their mother's breast, their fathers take them with them to the public assemblies, and even on their military expeditions. Hence they acquire a familiarity even with what may be called affairs of state, at an age when children with us are considered hardly more than ready to be sent to school. Mr. Marsden tells us that he has often seen the sons of chiefs, at the age of four or five years, sitting among the chiefs, and paying the closest attention to what was said. At the age of eight or ten years, he adds, they appear to be initiated in all the national customs and manners. The first lessons taught them are to dance the war-dance, to paddle the canoe, and to use the warlike instruments of their country. The son of a great chief is expected to shew his prowess in battle

at a very early age, if he means to emulate his father's renown; and Captain Cruise mentions that Shungie's son, Repero, had acquired no little ascendancy in his tribe, by having shot a man before he attained his fourteenth year.

The English missionaries have established several schools at their settlements in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands. The first was opened in August, 1816, when an attendance of thirty-three children was immediately obtained, of whom about two-thirds were girls. The number of the boys, however, afterwards increased, till at last it became nearly equal to that of the girls. But it was no easy matter for the teacher to secure anything like regularity of attendance from his restless and wayward pupils. It was soon found, in fact, that every thing depended upon his having it in his power to give them plenty to eat; for neither they nor their parents had any notion of receiving his lessons without some reward for their compliance. Many of the latter, indeed, afterwards began to insist upon being paid for permitting their children to attend the school, by something over and above the maintenance of the young people. The morning and evening were found to be the most convenient times for assembling the pupils, all of whom rose at day-break. For food they generally received a handful of potatoes each, and sometimes a little fish. It was a considerable time before it was found possible to make them comprehend the purpose for which they were brought together; and the first four months passed away in little else than incessant shouting, singing, and dancing. Indeed, after the first month they got tired of the school-room altogether, and the master was obliged to follow them into the woods. By a more liberal expenditure of provisions, however, he at last brought them under more regular government. Still, at the best, the scene

is described as a somewhat tumultuous one. "While one child," writes Mr. Kendall, the teacher, "is repeating his lesson, another will be playing with my feet, another taking away my hat, and another my book; and all this in the most friendly manner. I cannot be angry with them; but it requires some study how best to introduce some salutary discipline among them."

With all this wildness, however, most of them made a rapid progress in learning to read their native language, in the spelling-book which had been prepared for their use. Their quickness of apprehension, when they could be induced to give their thoughts to their lessons, was found fully to equal that of English children. In course of time the boys were taught writing; in this, also, many of them in a short time attained a most creditable proficiency. The young New Zealanders are described, indeed, by all who have had an opportunity of observing them, as displaying great readiness and ingenuity. When the Active made her appearance at the Bay of Islands, the children of the neighbourhood fitted up a mimic ship in wicker-work, in which the bowsprit, the two masts, and the different ropes of their model, were all carefully copied*. Among their acquirements, Mr. Kendall's pupils soon learned from the children of the settlers to spin tops, to fly kites, and other amusements of English schoolboys.

To complete the picture of this singular seminary, we may mention the names of the pupils, all of which are descriptive; and they are in some degree illustrative of the origin of names, generally. One is a word which signifies First year, or born the first year after marriage; another means, Born ten years after the eldest son. A third child was called *Atowha*, after the name of a tree. Others had their names

* Nicholas's Voyage, i. 244.

from their tempers; one being designated *Atooma*, to look a person sternly in the face; another *Akahe*, to stamp with the foot; another *Aweddee*, to tremble with rage: and one little fellow was named *Pakekooda*, which means, to dig fern-root out of red soil, because his grandfather had been killed while so employed*.

To this, as another illustration of native manners, we may add the account which is given in a letter from Mrs. Williams, the wife of one of the missionaries, of her native household servants:—

"The best of the native girls," writes Mrs. Williams, "if not well watched, would strain the milk with the duster, wash the tea-things with the knife-cloth, or wipe the tables with the flannel for scouring the floor. The very best of them also will, on a hot day, take herself off, just when you may be wishing for some one to relieve you, and swim; after which she will go to sleep for two or three hours. If they are not in a humour to do anything that you tell them, they will not understand you; it is by no means uncommon to receive such an answer as, 'What care I for that!' The moment a boat arrives, away run all the native servants—men, boys, and girls—to the beach. If there is anything to be seen, or anything extraordinary occurs, in New Zealand, the mistress must do the work while the servants gaze abroad; she must not censure them; for if they are 'rangatiras,' they will run away in a pet; and if they are 'cookies,' they will laugh at her, and tell her that she has 'too much of the mouth;' having been forewarned of this, I wait, and work away, till they choose to come back, which they generally do at meal-time†."

* Nineteenth Report of Church Miss. Soc., p. 200.

† Miss. Reg. for 1826, p. 616.

Chapter XVIII.

Contrasts between Savage and Civilized Life.—Modes of Civilization.—Conquest.—Gradual Progress of Civilization.—Early opinion on the mode by which the New Zealanders could be Civilized.—Efforts of the last Twenty Years.—Missions.

Speaking of the notion of civilizing the New Zealanders, "that is a thing," says Rutherford in his narrative, "which I think is past the heart (or, as he probably means, the art) of man to accomplish:" and this, it must be confessed, was no unnatural conclusion for one who, not much acquainted with the history of mankind, nor accustomed to philosophical speculation, merely remembered, in all probability, when he thought of civilized life, the present condition of England, and contrasted in his mind the character and manners of his own countrymen,—the accommodations of all kinds with which they are provided, and their general way of life,—with the rudeness, the destitution, the ignorance, the ferocity, and the other elements of the degradation and wretchedness of the savages among whom he then was. A highly civilized has in almost all respects so different an aspect from a barbarous community, that, to a person merely looking first to the one and then to the other, without taking the pains to consider the matter farther, it may indeed very well seem that they exhibit, not so much two different forms of society, as two entirely distinct species of human beings. Almost every thing that seems to constitute social life in the one state of things, is wanting in the other. There does not exist any thing deserving the name of a regular government; authority is felt only in its exac-

tions and aggressions; its protection is almost unknown. Instead of equal laws, the only fence drawn around the possessions, the liberties, and the lives of individuals, consists of a loose and irregular heap of old customs, to be sought for in the doubtful mists of tradition; and the general character of which, after all, is not so much to defend the weak, as to maintain and augment the power, and to give additional facilities to the tyranny, of the strong. Every thing is the dictatorship either of brute force exerted directly and openly, or of certain antique forms and maxims which are too often merely its disguised but most effective auxiliaries. Worst of all, even what of fairness and justice may be inherent in these old usages, is disregarded whenever they offer any restrictions upon power and oppression. Hence the almost entire extinction of individual liberty in so far as the mass of the people are concerned. And even the higher ranks and the chiefs, nominally independent as they are, are actually so only so long as each can protect himself. The government throws no shield over him. Thus, Mr. Nicholas states, that after Duaterra returned home with the different articles of property he had obtained at Port Jackson, he never used to venture abroad without being armed. One day some of his people came to tell him that his cow had calved, on which he immediately set out to see the increase of his wealth; but although he had to walk only a few hundred yards, he did not venture on the journey without first sticking a pistol in his breast and taking a bill-hook in his hand. On being asked the reason of all this precaution, he replied that since he had become possessed of so much property, he was no longer sure of his life for a moment; and therefore he made a rule never to stir without having his defensive weapons about him. On another occasion, we find him actually attacked by a

brother chief, whose object apparently was nothing else than to murder him, in order to get possession of part of his much envied wealth; and had the man succeeded in this attempt, he certainly would have had very little reason to concern himself about any punishment with which the laws of the country would have threatened him. In this way, too, Moyhanger, as has been already mentioned, had, there was every reason to believe, been very soon plundered of the riches he brought back with him from England. Shungie, on the other hand, succeeded in retaining possession of his imported treasures; but he attacked and despoiled every body else. In such a state of society, in short, every man is either a robber, or the victim of robbery: it is a scene of universal violence and depredation. Yet this is what some writers call the reign of absolute liberty. It is the absolute liberty of the strong to tyrannize as they choose over the weak—which is exactly the definition of an absolute despotism.

Without protective institutions, such a country is also without all those things which are calculated to flourish under their protection. No arts or manufactures, or next to none—no general distribution of the people into trades or professions—no diffused appearance of regular industry—no commerce, domestic or foreign—no coin or other circulating medium;—these are a few of the more conspicuous deficiencies that must strike even the most ignorant observer of savage life, who has been accustomed to another condition of society. They will force themselves upon his attention, in fact, as he looks even upon the landscape around him. The country is nearly a wilderness,—all swamp or woodland, except a few scattered patches by the sea side, or along the courses of the rivers; the only cultivation to be seen is in the heart, or the immediate vicinity, of the vil-

lages; and these (how unlike the populous cities and towns of a civilized country, with their streets of palaces, and intermingled spires, and towers, and domes!) are merely small groups of hovels that dot the earth like so many mole-hills, each a shelter from the weather, only one remove from the caverns of the Troglodytes*. Then there are no roads, those primary essentials of all improvement; and, it is needless to add, no artificial means of conveyance from one place to another. To make a journey of any length is an enterprize of labour and peril, which can only be accomplished by the union and co-operation of a band of travellers. There is not an inn throughout the land—nor a bridge—nor a direction-post—nor a milestone. The inhabitants, in fact, have not, in any sense of the word, taken possession of the country which they call their own. It is still the uninvaded domain of nature; and they are merely a handfull of stragglers who wander about its outskirts.

Their appearance, too, and all their more strictly personal accommodations, distinguish them almost as much from the people of a civilized country as if they were another species. There is a wild unsettledness in the very expression of their countenances, that assimilates them to a troop of animals of prey. Then they have probably a profusion of fantastic and unnatural decorations painted or engraven upon their persons; while clusters of baubles dangle round them; and coloured earth, grease, filth, and vermin, combine to complete the extraordinary spectacle. Their food is coarse; and their cookery rude to a degree that almost takes from it the right to be called by the same name with the art which, in a civilized country, heightens the enjoyment of the poorest man's

* This word imports "Dwellers in Caves," from τρωγλη, a cave, and δυμι, to enter.

meal with so considerable a variety of preparations. Their furniture is equally scanty and penurious. Often they have neither tables nor chairs; their beds are generally the floor; and their covering for the night the same mats which serve them as clothes during the day.

If we look beyond these mere outside appearances, the difference between the two conditions of society is still more remarkable. Ignorant of nearly all the useful arts, the savage has seldom made any progress worth naming in those that minister to the gratification of taste or luxury: a simple style of ballad poetry, a limited and generally rather monotonous music, some skill in carving ornaments in wood,—such is usually the short catalogue of his attainments in this department. The want of materials, or of command over them, necessarily precludes him from attempting anything that can be denominated architecture; and painting also demands materials, and a degree of science, which he has no means of attaining. Whatever arts he practises at all must be such as the hand alone can execute, with the aid of the most imperfect tools: for he is seldom or ever possessed of iron, by which man has chiefly conquered the physical world; and he is almost always entirely ignorant of machinery. But his especial distinction, and that which more than anything else keeps him a savage, is his ignorance of letters. This places the community almost in the same situation with a herd of the lower animals, in so far as the accumulation of knowledge, or, in other words, any kind of movement forward is concerned; for it is only by means of the art of writing that the knowledge acquired by the experience of one generation can be properly stored up, so that none of it shall be lost, for the use of all that are to follow. Among savages, for want of this admirable method of pre-

servation, there is reason to believe the fund of knowledge possessed by the community, instead of growing, generally diminishes with time. If we except the absolutely necessary arts of life, which are in daily use, and cannot be forgotten, the existing generation seldom seems to possess anything derived from the past. Hence the oldest man of the tribe is always looked up to as the wisest, simply because he has lived longest, it being felt that an individual has scarcely a chance of knowing anything more than his own experience has taught him. Accordingly the New Zealanders, for example, seem to have been in quite as advanced a state when Tasman discovered the country in 1642, as they were when Cook visited it, a hundred and twenty seven years after.

But, without regarding what letters *have done* for such a country as England, let any one merely reflect what this great possession is to us in the actual enjoyment—how much, of all that makes civilized life what it is, we derive immediately from its presence. To all classes among us, it may be said that the accommodations we owe to reading and writing rank next to food and clothing. What would religion itself be, in the aspect which it presents to the understandings of the people, if dissociated from books;—and without book-learning, how should we conduct the great business of education, the first temporal concern, after the mere procuring of sustenance, of every family in the land. It certainly is not necessary or desirable that education should be wholly an affair of books; but instruction through that medium must ever form the prominent part of it. Add to this, that much of the knowledge necessary for even the most common handicraft is best sought for in books;—that all descriptions of artisans are every day feeling, more and more, the

necessity of resorting to them for the practical science which they require in their several occupations;—and that, generally speaking, of the more profound theoretical learning which must be possessed by the directing minds in every department, books are the only fountains. Whatever, indeed, exists among us as a science, owes that character to its alliance with letters. Without that, our medicine would be a medley of empiricism and superstition;—our law would be, at best, merely a few general maxims, almost useless for the extended relations of a state of society like ours. Without the arts of reading and writing, the system of our commerce could no more go on, than could the solar system if the principle of gravitation were to be suddenly annihilated. The same thing is true of the complicated machinery of our civil polity, the universal motion of which would stop like a run-down watch, if the use of letters were to be taken from us. What a blank, too, would such a catastrophe create among what may be called the mere enjoyments of civilized life! Our very public amusements would, many of them, be destroyed, or altogether changed. There would be an end at least of all that is poetical in the drama; and we should have none of the entertainment even which books now yield so plentifully to the least studious. There would be no newspapers,—no arrivals by the post; the diffusion of intelligence would cease, or be carried on laboriously, slowly, and imperfectly by oral messages. Finally, an entire world, that of the press, would disappear from the system of the national industry; and its productions, that have given occupation to so many heads and hands, and are now to be found on every table, would be no longer seen.

From this rapid sketch we may perceive how little

there really is which the aspect of society among savages has in common with that which exists in a civilized country. It is no wonder, therefore, that the distance between the one state of things and the other should strike a man like Rutherford as altogether impassable.

Nevertheless, the known history of mankind will not allow us to entertain a doubt that even the New Zealanders are perfectly capable of being civilized. Ferocious as they are, they are probably not more so than our own ancestors in this very island were at one time. With all their savage propensities they are evidently possessed of many high qualities, both moral and intellectual. They are far from being, even now, as they have often been described to be, in the lowest known state of barbarism. The natives of New Holland, for example, are a great deal more ignorant, destitute, and wretched—so much so, that we ourselves can scarcely feel that we are farther elevated above the New Zealanders, than the latter are in their own opinion above these their miserable neighbours. When Mr. Nicholas returned to Port Jackson, the vessel, before reaching that settlement, touched at another part of the Australian continent, where, on landing, they perceived two of the natives at a little distance. Having been induced by signs to make their approach, these poor creatures were conducted to some of the New Zealanders who made the voyage in the English ship. The latter were arrayed in their war-mats, and armed; the former were perfectly naked; and even in respect of external appearance, therefore, the contrast between the two parties was sufficiently striking. But in regard to demeanour, it was still more so. The New Hollanders stood trembling in every joint, while their fellow savages gazed on them with looks of surprise and compassion,—and with a considerate kindness, which

would have done credit to any degree of culture or refinement, and which the natives of civilized countries are very far from having always practised in similar circumstances, did every thing in their power to win their confidence and induce them to lay aside their terror. First they attempted to rub noses with them, but seeing that this mode of salutation was not understood, they then took them by the hand. After this they danced and sung to them, till their kind intentions were felt and acknowledged by the New Hollanders, who exclaimed at length, in their own jargon, 'Very good you, very good you,' although they still continued shaking with alarm. The New Zealanders, in short, shewed on this occasion quite as much interest as any of the Europeans on board about the condition of these poor people, who were examples of a barbarism evidently many shades deeper than their own; and after they had left them, "they eagerly inquired," continues Mr. Nicholas, "whether they cultivated the coomera or potatoe, and if they had plenty of pigs; and being told that they were too idle to work, and had not a single pig in the world, they expressed both pity and contempt at their wretched mode of living."

Different views have been entertained as to the manner in which the civilization of savages may be best effected. Some writers, deducing their conclusions from what they hold to be the history of several of the more remarkable instances of the transformation of barbarous into civilized countries, have been disposed to contend that the only, or at least the surest and speediest method of bringing about this metamorphosis, is by the direct application of force. Despotic power, they contend, is the only principle that can be effectually applied to the abolition of those habits and customs which have a tendency to perpetuate the degradation of the people, and to the

introduction of the new form which it is desired their social condition should assume. The late able and excellent Sir Stamford Raffles, we observe, from the Memoir of his life which has recently appeared, was an advocate for this employment by civilized nations, of the superior power with which they are armed, in their intercourse with savages*. Undoubtedly the inhabitants of some parts of the earth have been thus civilized by compulsion, and a permanent renovation of their condition introduced by conquest and violence. But it may, perhaps, be questioned if this process has had, in the history of the world, that very general success which has been sometimes ascribed to it. Whatever may have been the effect of some of those early invasions of one country by the people of another which took place before the birth of history, the conquests of the Romans, for example, do not appear to have been usually directed in the manner which this theory would recommend. When that great military people added to their empire the territories of a new vassal tribe, their custom does not seem to have been to attempt the extinction of the old usages of the inhabitants by any positive prohibition of their observance, or the diffusion over the country by systematic measures of their own arts, religion, or language. If this result was, in most cases, to a certain extent produced, it was so rather through the natural operation of superior skill and intelligence, working their own way against rudeness and ignorance, than by the instrumentality of any regular plan which was adopted for bringing it about,—much less by any application of force for that end. The conquerors, it is true, erected their forts and cities on the vanquished soil, and within these military strongholds

* See letter to Mr. Murdoch, p. 463 of Memoir.

re-established the manners and occupations of their native land; thus exhibiting to the contemplation of the surrounding barbarians a standard and pattern of comfort and elegance which they could hardly fail first to admire, and afterwards to imitate. But beyond these stations the country was in general allowed to remain untouched; and the people, in so far as their peculiar customs were concerned, were unannoyed. All that was required of them was, that they should pay their tribute regularly, and refrain from all endeavours to throw off a yoke that did not otherwise gall them. We read of no schoolmastering of them to a new tongue, or to new rites, under the drawn sword. It is not intended to justify the amount of aggression to which they actually were subjected by their potent masters. Doubtless the latter had, in most cases, no right to interfere with them or their country at all; and it is on this foundation of natural justice, that we should oppose entirely a resort to violence, even for the purpose of extending the empire of civilization. The violation of a broad principle of morality is the greatest wrong that can be perpetrated, and seldom fails in the end to avenge itself. If such methods as this are to be employed for a good end, we may be sure they will not fail to be at least as often resorted to for a bad one. In the case of the New Zealanders there is another objection to any such unjustifiable attempt. That high-spirited people would resist any intrusion of strangers which threatened to reduce their country to slavery, with an obstinacy, which might not indeed succeed in warding off the usurpation, but would certainly prolong the contest till the best blood in the land had poured itself out to the last dregs, and the spirit of the surviving population should have become one of untameable alienation. Even the small and peaceful settlements which the English have already established on

their territory have not a little alarmed the patriotism of many of the chiefs. Duaterra himself, on his death-bed, expressed many apprehensions as to the ultimate designs of those formidable Europeans whom he had been a principal agent in introducing into his native land*. Tetoro also told Captain Cruise, that the soldiers on board the Dromedary would be no acceptable guests at New Zealand†. So we find Warrackie, another chief, one day remarking to Mr. Kendal how greatly he feared lest the English should in a little time increase their force, drive the natives into the woods, and take possession of their land ‡. Were the suspicions of the natives effectually aroused on this head, the bloody, sweeping, and pitiless retribution with which they have already, on so many occasions, avenged their real or imaginary wrongs on their white visitors, may be some earnest to us, both of the consummate cunning with which they would devise their plans for the massacre of their invaders, and of the remorseless cruelty with which, when their passions were up, they would use any advantage which chance or their own management might put into their hands.

In truth, the right of a people to resist those who seek to civilize them by conquest cannot for a moment be denied. The Spaniards, under the pretence of making the natives of South America converts to Christianity, committed every atrocity that the wickedness of the human heart could devise. Yet even in that age, when the pretence under which the Spaniards made a conquest of the Indians was implicitly confided in by the greater portion of the christian world, the doctrine was manfully resisted by one

* Proceedings of Church Miss. Soc. for 1817, p. 558.
† Cruise's Journal, p. 11.
‡ Miss. Reg. for 1817, p. 347.

who had witnessed the horrible consequences to which it led. Las Casas, to his dying hour, maintained the right of the native Indians to make war upon their oppressors, for the purpose of obtaining the restitution of their property, and of their freedom. He says, in a memorial published in 1564, "From the moment that the Spaniards seized upon the person of Athabaliba, the children of that prince, his heirs, and his people, were justified in attacking the aggressors as the enemies of the entire nation. They would preserve that right to the end of the world, at least until such a state of things should be terminated by peace or by a truce—by some favourable arrangement—or by the free and voluntary surrender of their claims by those who have endured so much. * * * * The Spaniards have killed the king of the Peruvians, and massacred thousands of his people; they have usurped the crown of the legitimate princes, and carried off enormous treasures; they retain in slavery a population whose misery cries aloud for vengeance: it is for these reasons that the Indians will always have a just cause to make war upon us." It is curious to compare these sentiments of a Spanish ecclesiastic, with the similar principles announced more than a century later, and under very different circumstances, by our own Locke:—"The inhabitants of any country, who are descended and derive a title to their estates from those who are subdued, and had a government forced upon them against their free consents, retain a right to the possession of their ancestors, though they consent not freely to the government, whose hard conditions were by force imposed on the possessors of that country: for the first conqueror never having had a title to the land of that country, the people who are descendants of, or claim under those who were forced to submit to the yoke of a government by constraint, have always a right

to shake it off, and free themselves from the usurpation or tyranny which the sword hath brought in upon them, till their rulers put them under such a frame of government, as they willingly and of choice consent to. Who doubts but the Grecian Christians, descendants of the ancient possessors of that country, may justly cast off the Turkish yoke, which they have so long groaned under, whenever they have an opportunity to do it? For no government can have a right to obedience from a people, who have not freely consented to it; which they can never be supposed to do, till either they are put in a full state of liberty to choose their government and governors, or at least till they have such standing laws to which they have by themselves, or their representatives, given their free consent, and also till they are allowed their due property, which is so to be proprietors of what they have, that nobody can take away any part of it without their own consent; without which, men under any government are not in a state of freemen, but are direct slaves under the force of war *."

The inferior animals can only be reduced to obedience by constraint; but men are formed to be tamed by other methods. Example, persuasion, instruction are the only means we may lawfully make use of to wean savages from their barbarism; and they are also the best fitted to accomplish that object. It is not even pretended that an exercise of what are falsely called the rights of conquest for such a purpose would have any chance of being successful till after the lapse of at least two or three generations;—till the conquered people in fact have become mixed and amalgamated with their conquerors, or, from not having been permitted to follow the customs of their ancestors, have actually forgotten them. In some cases the natives have been absolutely extirpated before this has

* Of Civil Government, § 192.

happened, as was the case almost universally on the South American continent, and of which we have a more remarkable instance in the attempts of the Spanish Jesuits to christianize by main force the inhabitants of the Marianas, which were terminated in a few years by the almost entire depopulation of that beautiful Archipelago*. Of course it is not to be supposed that any one in the present day would recommend the adoption, in any circumstances, of such measures as were employed on this occasion; but let the discipline of restraint resorted to be ever so prudent and forbearing, it must, on its first application at least, be offensive and hateful to its objects. The grandchildren or great grandchildren of those on whom it is originally tried, may possibly be improved by it; it can hardly be expected that either they themselves or their sons should regard it in any other light than as a system of iniquitous oppression. But the milder and fairer method of merely offering knowledge to those who choose to accept of it, of opposing prejudice by argument alone, of simply transplanting the arts of civilization into the country, and allowing them to recommend themselves to the adoption of the inhabitants through their own manifest utility and importance,—this can scarcely even at first excite any general hostility, while every day the experiment is persevered in may be reasonably expected to add to its triumphs. This fortunately is the plan that has been hitherto followed by all those who have interested themselves in the civilization of the New Zealanders.

It is probably not generally known that the earliest scheme for the accomplishment of this object was suggested by the celebrated Dr. Franklin. In the

* See the narrative of these extraordinary proceedings, though related by a pen in the interest of their authors, in Father Legobien's *Histoire des Iles Mariannes.*

month of August, 1771, only a few weeks after Captain Cook returned from his first voyage, the late Mr. Dalrymple, the distinguished hydrographer, had a conversation with Franklin, who was then in England, on the subject of this interesting people, who made so conspicuous a figure in the relations that had just transpired of the great circumnavigator's discoveries. At this interview, it was proposed by Franklin that a subscription should be set on foot, in which he would join, in order to fit out a vessel, which should proceed to New Zealand with a cargo of such commodities as the natives were most in want of, and bring back in return so much of the produce of the country as should defray the expenses of the adventure. The principal object of the expedition, however, was to promote the improvement of the New Zealanders, by opening for them a means of intercourse with the civilized world. The plan was afterwards carried so far, that Mr. Dalrymple had agreed to take the command of the vessel himself, and Franklin drew up a paper of proposals for the conduct of the enterprize, which was printed and circulated. In this address, he remarks that the island of Great Britain is said to have originally produced only sloes, and that this fact may teach us how great and wealthy a country may become, even from the smallest beginnings, under the renovating influences of industry and the arts. He then proposes that the object to be kept in view should be to put the natives in possession of hogs, fowls, goats, cattle, corn, iron, and the other means of enabling and inducing them to exchange their roving and warlike life for the settled and peaceful pursuits of agriculture. The expense attending this attempt, according to a calculation by Mr. Dalrymple, would not have amounted to more than about £15,000, which would have purchased the cargo, and stored and

maintained the vessel for three years. From the difficulty of obtaining subscriptions, or some other cause, the plan was never executed*.

All that has since been done for the civilization of New Zealand is the work of the last fifteen or sixteen years; and the honour of the enterprise belongs to certain religious societies in our own country. The Church Missionary Society, in particular, has distinguished itself in this benevolent and enlightened crusade by a liberality of expenditure, a prudence of management, and a perseverance in the face of numberless difficulties, which claim for its directors the gratitude and applause of every friend of humanity. Their attention, as has been already mentioned, was first called to this field of Christian and philanthropic labour by the Reverend Mr. Marsden, of New South Wales; and that gentleman has ever since continued to devote himself to the welfare of New Zealand with an ardour which, even among the natives themselves, has procured him universal regard and admiration. The condition of the New Zealanders, their national character, habits, and manner of life, have been more accurately observed, and more graphically described, by him than by any other person who has attempted to give us an account of the country; and to his communications, and those of the mission of which he is the founder, we are indebted for nearly all the very recent information which we possess regarding them. The Church Missionary Society has now three settlements established at the Bay of Islands, consisting in all, as appears by the last published Report, of twenty-four individuals (besides children), of whom three are clergymen of the church of England. They have also five schools at three different stations, which are now attended by 106 boys, 55 girls, and 12 adults. Of these,

* See Dodsley's Annual Register for 1779.

most, it is stated, labour diligently in learning to read and write; and some also receive instructions in arithmetic. Most of the settlers have acquired a considerable command of the native language; in which, besides the grammar already mentioned, a spelling-book, and some short extracts from the scriptures, have been already printed. A translation of the bible and a dictionary are in progress. The houses at all the stations are built after the English fashion; and one is a chapel of forty feet by twenty, with a smaller apartment attached to it. English agriculture and gardening have also been introduced both in the grounds belonging to the mission, and in those of several of the neighbouring chiefs. It may be interesting to add the following list of the vegetables that are stated to be growing at one of the settlements in 1821:

"Wheat, oats, barley, peas, horse and kitchen beans, tares, hops, turnips, carrots, radishes, cabbages, potatoes, lettuce, red beet, brocoli, endive, asparagus, cresses, onions, shalots, celery, rock and water melons, pumpkins, cucumbers, parsley, vines, strawberries, raspberries, orange, lemon, apple, pear, peach, apricot, quince, almond, and plum trees, pepper and spear mint, sage, rice, marygolds, lilies, roses, pinks, sweetwilliams, rosemary, featherfew, lavender, dutch clover, meadow, feschu, rib, and sweetscented vernal grasses*."

The secular persons in the employment of the society, though most of them assist in the literary and religious instruction of the natives, continue to exercise their several trades in their new country. Thus one is a shoemaker, another a flaxdresser and weaver; some are blacksmiths, and others carpenters. One is employed in taking charge of the cattle, of which the stock is considerable. The mission had also, till

* Twenty-second Report of Church Miss. Soc. p. 199.

lately, a small vessel of their own, which was built in the country, and was employed in making frequent trips to Port Jackson; but the last accounts announce that it had been wrecked. The Wesleyan Methodists, as has been already intimated, also established some years ago a mission at Wangaroa, the celebrated scene of the catastrophe of the Boyd, and had created in the midst of the cruel and treacherous inhabitants of that district a very interesting copy of European comfort and cultivation: but the buildings and gardens were destroyed by an attack of the natives in January 1827; and the mission, we believe, has been since suspended.

We have already noticed one striking peculiarity in the character of this people which is decidedly encouraging to the hope of their ultimate civilization. We mean the eagerness which they have shewn, from the first moment they heard of the existence of other countries beside their own, to visit them, and see with their own eyes whatever they might contain that was new and strange. Even so long ago as the time of Captain Cook this spirit of curiosity displayed itself. The reader is already aware what difficulties have been braved and overcome in more recent times, by many of these enterprising islanders, in their prosecution of similar attempts to obtain an acquaintance with foreign countries. Some of the details which Mr. Marsden gives us in the journal of his third visit, are perhaps more strikingly illustrative of the general anxiety which prevails among them that their children at least, if not themselves, should be introduced to civilized life than anything we have yet related. Of a number of young men belonging to the first families in the country who had been with him at the commencement of that year (1820) at Paramatta in New South Wales, no fewer than seven were dead by midsummer, four of them having

breathed their last at Paramatta, and the other three shortly after their return to New Zealand. Yet this rapid mortality had little or no effect in deterring other parents from exposing their sons to the same risk. "Notwithstanding the death of so many of the chiefs' sons," says Mr. Marsden, in giving an account of an excursion he made to Tiama, "others are urgent to send their children to Port Jackson: when I have told them that I was afraid to allow them to go lest they should die, they replied that they would run the risk of their death, if I would only permit them to go." He then relates the anecdote quoted in a former page, of Korro-korro urging him to take his little boy to Port Jackson, and when it was represented to him that his child would most probably die if he went, replying that he would pray for him during his absence, as he had done for his brother Tooi, and that would keep him from all harm. A little after, he adds, "my opinion is that if half the New Zealanders were to die in their attempt to force themselves into civil life, the other half would not be deterred from making a similar effort; so desirous do they seem to attain our advantages."

Those of the natives who have visited Port Jackson uniformly return highly gratified with what they have seen, and, gathering their friends around them, are wont to spend many hours, and sometimes whole nights, in giving them an account of the customs of the English and their manner of living*. Mr. Mariner, in his account of the people of the Tonga Islands, who are of the same family with the New Zealanders, remarks the strong interest which they also take in discoursing of the wonders of civilization†. But the New Zealanders go farther than this; they are proud to array themselves in the dress of Eu-

* Proceedings of Church Mis. Soc. for 1820-21, p. 346.

† Account of the Tonga Islands, ii. 333.

ropeans, and endeavour as far as they can to imitate their manners, and it may almost be said their modes of feeling and thinking. Captain Cruise mentions a chief, named Wheety, who on taking leave of the people of the Dromedary, with whom he had had a good deal of intercourse, expressed his intention of getting a house built for himself when he returned home, as like those of the Europeans as he could, and of henceforth living as they did. This man, who does not appear to have been quite so zealous a patriot as some of his brother chiefs, used often to remark that "New Zealand would one day be the white man's country." Many of the more ardent admirers of what they called "Europee fashion," have even so far conquered one of the most inveterate of the native habits as to have abandoned the practice of crying either on meeting or parting with their friends; though to most of them the attempt was at first a severe struggle. Nothing makes either the men or the women so vain as to be arrayed in European clothes, which they seem to consider a much more honourable attire than even the finest of their native garments. Thus we find the chief Ahoudee Ogunna, requesting Mr. Marsden to send him a suit of English clothes to wear on Sundays, as he did not like to attend church in his New Zealand dress. The desire for European clothes, for blankets, for tea, sugar, bread, and the other comforts of civilized life, is spoken of as general among the inhabitants of the Bay of Islands*.

Many of the people of this district even understand the language of their white visitors, and are themselves fond of speaking English†. This is perhaps one of the most promising signs of their advancing civilization. The language of a savage people is

* Proceedings of Church Miss. Soc. for 1820-21, p. 364, and Id. for 1821-22, p. 353.

† Twenty-first Report of Church Miss. Soc., p. 207.

necessarily in all cases a poor and imperfect instrument for the expression of thought; but it is seldom on that account less the object of pride and attachment to those by whom it is spoken. Many savage tribes hardly pique themselves so much upon anything as upon the propriety with which they speak their native tongue. This is the case with the people of Tonga*, and also with several of the American nations†. Even formal oratory is an art much practised among almost all savages, not in the lowest degree of barbarism; and some very high-coloured descriptions have been given of the masterly eloquence which they are wont to display. Their most able declamations, however, would probably not stand the test of a very rigid criticism, and owe as much of their effect, perhaps, to the vehemence with which they are delivered as to their intrinsic merits. Upon this subject Father Lafitau tells an amusing story. He and his brother missionaries, he says, while residing among the Hurons of North America, had a servant who did not know a word of the language of the Indians, but had caught what may be called its accent very correctly, so that he could give a good imitation of the general effect of it on the ear; and this man, merely to amuse himself, was wont to make long speeches to the savages in a jargon literally having no meaning whatever, but only pronounced in their own tone, which his hearers used to listen to with great attention, and never doubted were addresses in their own language, only his style of oratory, they said, was so elevated that they could not always comprehend him. It may be suspected that, even in listening to their own countrymen, these good people would sometimes in like manner very contentedly take sound for sense.

One disadvantage under which a barbarous tongue

* Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. i. p. xxx. † Lafitau, iv. 187.

must very generally labour is the diversity of dialects into which it has a tendency to split, if the country in which it is spoken be at all extensive. This takes place to a great extent even with regard to cultivated languages; but in the case of these there is always a standard form of speech which is universally intelligible. In the instance of a savage tongue, again, all the dialects are usually on a par, and no single one possesses the property of being a general interpreter of the rest. This must make it in many cases an endless labour to attempt the instruction of the inhabitants of a barbarous country solely or chiefly through the medium of what is loosely called their mother tongue. In the island of Timor, in the East Indies, for example, it has been asserted that no fewer than forty different dialects or languages are spoken; while among the cannibals of Borneo it is supposed that probably many hundreds are in use*. We know so little of the greater part of the New Zealand isles, that it is impossible to say to how great an extent the language of the people is there broken down into different dialects. Rutherford, we may remark, asserts that the words collected in Professor Lee's vocabulary are not those in use farther south.

In general there is no great faith to be put in the collections from which the vocabularies of barbarous dialects are compiled, except when the materials are furnished, as was the case with Professor Lee's grammar, by missionaries or other persons acquainted with the language. For, however eager voyagers and scientific people may have been in collecting what they considered curious, the difficulty, without a very long experience, of representing by letters sounds which have not been previously written, presents an almost insuperable bar to accuracy. It is,

* Crawfurd's Indian Archipelago, iii. 79.

also, we believe, not an uncommon thing with some of the South Sea Islanders to amuse themselves with that sort of wit which Swift calls "selling a bargain." An instance of this occurred a few years ago. A young missionary, who was reading a book of travels in Sir Joseph Banks's library, was observed every now and then to burst out into a violent fit of laughter; and on the cause of this being asked, it was found that he was reading over a vocabulary in which the natives had cheated the scientific compiler, by giving such answers to his inquiries, that, had any future voyager attempted to use the work of his predecessor, no very good opinion would have been entertained of his morals, and he would have been far distant from the attainment of any object for which he might think he was asking.

Whatever be the number of the New Zealand dialects, the general tongue, as has been already observed, is radically the same with that spoken in Otaheite, in the Sandwich group, and in many of the other islands of the South Sea. Its principal characteristic is stated, by those who have studied its genius, to be the simplicity of its grammatical forms. There is no distinction of genders; declension and conjugation are effected by particles, as in English; and superlatives are made by reduplication, as in the language of children. The New Zealand method of numeration is, according to M. de Blosseville and M. Balbi, very peculiar, being not decimal, but undecimal, or proceeding by successive multiples of eleven. Thus, after ascending to eleven, they say for twelve eleven and one, for thirteen eleven and two, &c., till they come to twenty-two, which they call twice eleven*. This remarkable singularity is not noticed in Professor Lee's grammar, where the numbers are arranged

* Balbi, Introduction à l'Atlas Ethnographique, 256—265.

upon the common decimal principle. According to Mr. Savage, the New Zealanders count without embarrassment as far as twenty score, or four hundred; for numbers higher than that they merely repeat *catteekow* (twenty) a great many times, to indicate that it is beyond their powers of calculation. They are also in the habit of counting by pairs. Time they reckon by moons, as do most other savages. A year they call *Raw mathie*, literally *Ripe*, or *dead leaf**; naturally, in all probability, considering the round of the seasons to finish with the falling of the leaves from the trees. M. Balbi mentions, on the authority of M. Lesson, a curious circumstance, which may be taken as indicative of the inroads which European civilization is making upon their peculiar habits. While the more unsophisticated natives continue to adhere to their undecimal scale of numbers, those of them, it seems, who reside in the neighbourhood of the English missionaries, vibrate in their practice between that and the decimal method. Among these latter the hundred is very frequently the same as in Europe; but in the more remote villages it always runs to a hundred and twenty-one†.

* Captain Dillon's Voyage, i. 220.

† The little volume, entitled "A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand," to which reference has frequently been made, was compiled, as has been already stated, by Professor Lee of Cambridge, principally from the communications of Mr. Kendall, when he visited this country with Tooi and Teeterree in 1818, and was published by the Church Missionary Society in 1820. For the New Zealand alphabet the learned editor has adopted the English characters, but has arranged them after the Sanscrit order, in which the vowels come first, then the diphthongs, and last of all, the consonants. He enumerates thirty-one elementary sounds in all, including the nasal *ng*. The work commences with a series of lessons in syllabication, after the manner of a spelling-book; and then proceeds to treat of the grammar of the language. The next part consists of a collection of phrases and

From all that has been stated, it may be pronounced that the civilization of this interesting people has now received a fair and even promising commencement. These dwellers in the remotest ocean, so lately separated from the more cultivated portion of their species, not more by their distance than by the deep night of barbarism in which they were involved, have already been brought at least into contact with the light of knowledge and of religion, and are at any rate no longer ignorant that there are other arts than those of war, and other enjoyments than those of revenge and butchery. Even this is much, and must in time lead to more. Such a mild and moral sway as is at this moment exercised among these rude but noble barbarians, by the pious men who have dedicated themselves with a praiseworthy devotion to their improvement, can hardly fail to be rewarded by much speedier as well as much more unmixed success than could reasonably be expected to attend the adoption of any harsher or more violent measures, for restraining their destructive animosities, or abolishing their sanguinary superstitions. Christianity, emphatically the religion of civilization, goes forth among them with her appropriate attendants, when she takes literature and

dialogues in the New Zealand and English tongues; together with several compositions in the former, which Dr. Lee professes not to understand perfectly, and therefore leaves untranslated. Last of all is given a vocabulary of New Zealand terms, extending to about a hundred pages. It is remarkable, that of the thirty-one alphabetical characters, we find no fewer than twelve, *viz.* the diphthongs *ei* and *ou*, and the consonants *b*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *l*, *s*, *v*, *x*, *y*, *z*, which according to this vocabulary never occur at the commencement of a word. The proper name *Shungie*, or *Shongi*, is in fact two words, being composed of the indefinite article *e*, and *ongi*, a salute; but *e ongi* is pronounced *Shongi* according to a very remarkable rule of the language, namely, that when any two vowels concur, the combined sound becomes that of the English *sh*. Most New Zealand words seem to begin with K, M, P, or T.

the arts along with her; and it is not possible that she should not eventually triumph even over all the ignorance, prejudice, and ferocity, with which she has here to contend. Perhaps no feeling less ardent and steady than a sense of religious obligation could support the labourers in such a cause as this, in the midst of the difficulties and discouragements which, in the commencement of their enterprize at least, must meet them at almost every step. But even their task must become gradually an easier and more cheering one: while few gratifications can be conceived equal to that which must be theirs, when they shall at length behold any considerable and general amendment of the manners, and augmentation of the comforts, of the people effected by their efforts.

We may notice that an attempt was made a few years ago to establish a colony in New Zealand, on purely commercial principles, by an English company. The station selected for the experiment was near the mouth of the Shukehanga river on the west coast; and one vessel at least arrived with settlers. After a trial of a few months, however, the design was abandoned, it being deemed dangerous to encounter the hostility of the natives; and with the exception of a few mechanics, all the people left the country in the spring of 1827. It may probably be yet some time before New Zealand is sufficiently tranquillized for a residence in it to be safely risked, by such an assemblage of adventurers as this appears to have been; whose intrusion, indeed, could hardly fail to excite the jealous temper of the natives. But two or three mercantile houses at Port Jackson have already agency establishments in the country. The persons intrusted with the management of these, as we learn from Captain Dillon, have been well treated by the natives, and permitted without molestation to build several small schooners, for the

exportation of pork, flax, spars, and the other productions of the island.

It is not on first being brought into contact with civilization, that a savage people present the most favourable exhibition of the effects of the new influence. For some time the barbarian often derives from his increased knowledge only additional and more injurious facilities for the indulgence of his old vices. The original turbulence and grossness of his appetites are as yet but little restrained by improved notions of morality or of decorum, while his opportunities of gratifying them are multiplied. The result is that, with less of the simplicity, he displays more of the brutality of barbarism than before. This must be particularly the case, when his intercourse with the civilized world is of that unregulated and indiscriminate sort, which it must always be if his country be frequented by other nations for commercial purposes, as New Zealand now is. In such circumstances, when civilization is introduced, much of corruption is, of inevitable necessity, let in with it. Of those strangers from the old world, who come and mix with the natives, comparatively very few feel any anxiety about their improvement: nay, many are ready to make a gain of their ignorance and degradation; while some are fitted only still farther to debase and brutalize them by the mere contagion of their own profligacy*. Hence the aspect which a

* Captain Franklin, in his voyage to the Polar Seas, has given a striking example of this contagion. He says, speaking of a North American tribe, "It may be thought that the Crees have benefited by their long intercourse with civilized nations. That this is not so much the case as it ought to be, is not entirely their own fault. They are capable of being, and I believe willing to be, taught; but no pains have hitherto been taken to inform their minds, and their white acquaintances seem in general to find it

people most commonly presents, when in the state in which the inhabitants of the greater part of New Zealand at this moment are. They are still savages in almost every thing, except in their knowledge of the wealth and power of their civilized visitors, and in their possession of a few of the products of arts or manufactures, which they have not learned to practise. The savage is spoiled, but the civilized man is not yet formed. Some of the worst propensities of the native character are inflamed; and other bad habits formerly unknown have been acquired. The New Zealanders, for example, have probably carried on their wars with much more wide-spreading devastation than formerly, since they have got the firelocks of Europe into their hands. Doubtless, too, the licentiousness of the female population has been immeasurably augmented by the resort of Europeans to their shores. The habit of drinking ardent spirits is a completely new vice, which many of them have already learned from their intercourse with what is called civilized society. Nor has the general condition of the people been as yet so far improved in any respect, as to afford them a compensation for these evils. On the contrary, the white man too often has approached their coasts only as a formidable invader, whom it has required all their strength and courage to keep at bay. Their national independence, the

easier to descend to the Indian customs and modes of thinking, particularly with respect to women, than to attempt to raise the Indians to theirs. Indeed such a lamentable want of morality has been displayed by the white traders in their contests for the interests of their respective companies, that it would require a long series of good conduct to efface from the minds of the native population the ideas they have formed of the white character. Notwithstanding the frequent violations of the rights of property they have witnessed, and but too often experienced in their own persons, these savages, as they are termed, remain strictly honest." —*Franklin's Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, pp. 69, 70.

most fondly cherished of their possessions, has been at least menaced, and that by a power sufficient to alarm all their fears for its security. They now, indeed, know that there are other countries besides their own; but they must feel also that their own is not so much theirs as it was heretofore. They have as yet received less injury at our hands than other Aborigines, whom civilized nations have curbed or nearly extirpated. Too often, in a blind spirit of injustice, when we receive some affront, which is a result of their ignorance, we punish or persecute them. They resist our power;—and then we shoot them as wild beasts. We fear that the natives of North and South America, of Van Diemen's Land, and of Southern Africa, are evidences of the cruelty and impolicy of the conduct of civilized men to savages*. Let us learn better lessons. Let us steadily impart as much as possible of the real blessings of civilized life, but veil its licentiousness and repress its tyranny. Above all let us teach sound and useful knowledge. If we should stop at our present point of advancement in our attempt to civilize the New Zealanders, it might well be doubted whether we had not rather inflicted an injury than conferred a benefit on them. The remedy for the mischief, is the continuance and wider diffusion of the training which has been already commenced. To this duty we are peculiarly called, in whatever region the commerce of our country has set up its marts. Indeed the extension of civilization throughout every region of the earth where the people are ignorant and wretched, appears to be the peculiar duty which Providence has imposed upon a maritime and commercial nation. It is the price which they are called

* Some very striking observations on the treatment of Aborigines are to be found in a recent publication by M. Saxe Bannister, called "Humane Policy towards the Aborigines of New Settlements."

upon to pay for the blessings they gather through their intercourse with universal mankind. If we obtain all the riches of the East from our Indian empire, we owe the natives protection; and we are further called upon, without insulting their prejudices, to introduce that knowledge which can alone obliterate their cruel and absurd superstitions. If we range through the great Polynesian ocean to exchange our own articles of manufacture for those commodities which its islands produce in such abundance, we are bound to give instruction for the mind as well as our clothes and implements. In fact, our interest alone would compel us to this course. A nation of barbarous savages are indifferent customers to a wealthy people; when we have taught them to value the comforts of social life, they open to us new havens for skill and enterprise. In this way, will New Zealand be ultimately civilized. When the natives shall become intelligent enough to clear their forests and cultivate their deserts—when towns shall rise up upon the banks of rivers instead of the solitary hut upon the naked rock—when the waterfall shall turn the mill-wheel, instead of dashing idly to the sea; then shall the merchants of London, and Liverpool, and Glasgow, have their correspondence with the descendants of the poor savages whom they taught to copy our arts and our luxuries, and the sons of a Shungie and a Tupai Cupa shall give a new impulse to the lathes and foundries of Birmingham and the looms of Manchester.

THE END.

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